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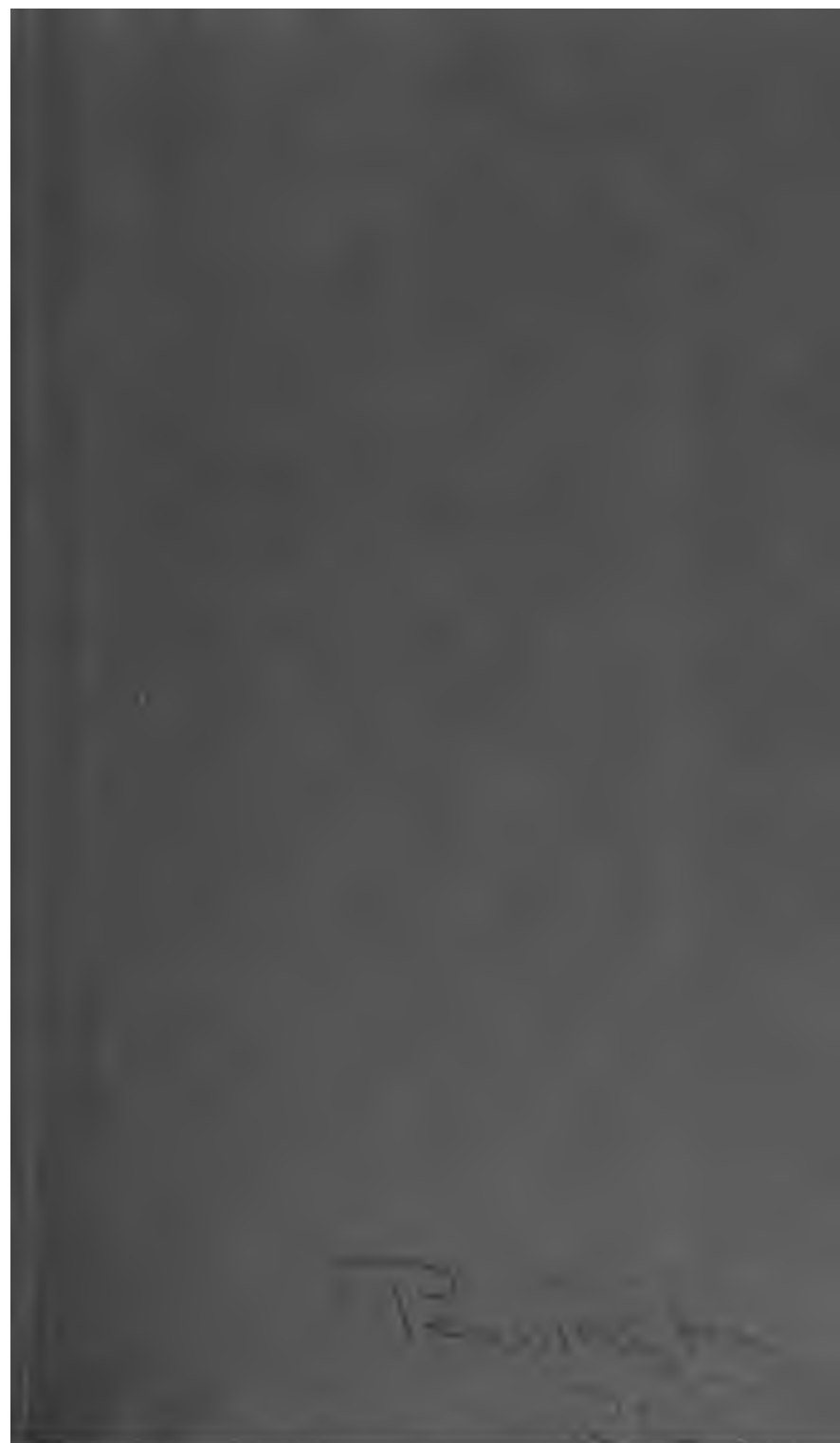
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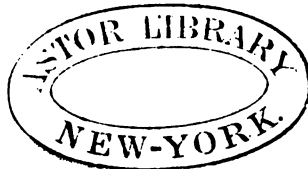






AN ESSAY
ON THE
PRONUNCIATION
OF
THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

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ERRATA.

Page 201, line 11, *for ἄθρανος, l. ἄθρανος.*
 — 207, — 24, *for ἄσο, l. ἄστυ.*

ON
THE PRONUNCIATION
OF THE
GREEK LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

1. INTRODUCTION.—2. PRESENT TIME FAVOURABLE FOR THE INQUIRY.—3. WHAT WRITERS TO BE USED AS AUTHORITIES.—4. INQUIRY CONFINED TO THE ATTIC DIALECT.—5. ANALOGY BETWEEN GREEK AND LATIN.—6. MISTAKES IN INSCRIPTIONS.—7. SOUNDS OF ANIMALS.—8. PUNS.

INTRODUCTION.

1. THE Greek language is stamped by time, that great prover of men and things, as the most perfect which ever fell from the lips of man. Its strength and flexibility, its sonorous cadence, its facility of combination, its variety of termination, making the boldest inversion consistent with clearness, its harmonious proportion between vowels and consonants, pleasing to the ear even in spite of mistakes in pronunciation,—all these fit it for history and eloquence and poetry: and

nobly has it been used. Still, after the lapse of ages, after changes of manners and of empires, we find in its records the best treasure-house of learning; and in the force, the pathos, the simplicity, the dignity of the great men who wrote it, the purest criterion of taste. And, precious as these monuments of old Greece are, it can scarcely be said that they have not been duly appreciated. Most of the scholars who have studied them at all, have studied them profoundly. The origin of the language, its structure, its rhythm, the variety of its dialects, have engaged the thoughts and employed the pens of men far above pedantry.

To the lovers and admirers of Greek (and for them alone the following pages have been written) no excuse will be necessary for starting afresh an inquiry into the pronunciation of their favourite language. Indeed, in the controversies to which this topic has already given rise, men of great eminence and learning have shown a degree of asperity, which affords more proof than we could wish of the interest which they took in the inquiry.

PRESENT TIME FAVOURABLE FOR THE INQUIRY.

2. The present time seems to favour the reconsideration of this question. The facility of travelling is daily making us less and less "completely divided from the whole world." Our ears become gradually used to sounds and accents dif-

ferent from our own and different from each other. To Greece particularly a large portion of our countrymen are attracted, not merely by the interest of antiquarian research, but by the restoration to civilized Europe of a country, which "was lost and is found." Then again, our connection with the Ionian Islands fills many civil and military offices there with Englishmen, many of whom are tempted, and some obliged, to make themselves masters of modern Greek, which naturally leads them to inquire how far the modern, either as a written or as a spoken language, may be supposed to differ from the ancient. Neither will the subject be found to be so uncertain in its evidence as we might, from the nature of it, be led to expect. The scholar, who shall prosecute the inquiry with industry, will find himself agreeably surprised by the fullness of the information which is to be gathered from the treatises of grammarians, or gleaned from sentences of authors, who have by accident illustrated a subject which they themselves never foresaw could become liable to a doubt.

WHAT WRITERS TO BE USED AS AUTHORITIES.

3. With respect to the living languages, it may be said generally, that the pronunciation which is, is right; the rule depends so much upon usage, and so little upon abstract principle, that we are content to speak modern languages as the natives now speak them, without troubling our-

selves with inquiring what alterations they have made in the pronunciation of their ancestors. We use, as Quintilian says, their current language as we use their current coin. And if we had considered the present inhabitants of Greece as speaking essentially the same language which was spoken there two thousand years ago, we should go to Athens to learn to speak Greek, for the same reasons which send us to Paris to learn to speak French. But we do not so consider them ; we look upon the modern Greek as essentially a distinct language from the ancient : but when did the race of ancient Greeks cease ? To this question it will be answered, that, though we cannot fix on any precise date when the people speaking the ancient Greek ceased to exist, their language was gradually altered, so as to be at last virtually destroyed by successive corruptions : that it is clear there was a period of classical purity, which was succeeded by a period of barbarism, though we may be unable to define with accuracy the extinction of the one or the commencement of the other. The consequence of this statement of the question is, that any line which we may draw between the age of purity and the age of barbarism must be arbitrary, so that no two persons would fix it at exactly the same period ; and yet it is difficult to discuss the subject without drawing such a line, in order to know to what authorities we are to appeal for a decision of the various topics which

may arise. When I maintain that a word ought to be pronounced in such a manner, and in support of this proposition I show that it was so pronounced at a given period, if that period be considered by my opponent as an age of barbarism, he will be so far from admitting my conclusion, that he will consider the authority upon which I rely, either as affording no proof at all, or as leading to a directly opposite inference from that which I draw from it. To avoid any such misunderstanding, I propose to draw the line at the end of the second century of the Christian era, and to consider the ancient Greeks as having preserved their language uncorrupt down to that period. None of the writers on the subject have ventured to date any extensive or general corruption of the structure or pronunciation of the Greek language earlier than this; and the line will scarcely be considered as drawn too low, which excludes Longinus from the age of purity.

Assuming then that the ancient Greeks, as far as regards the present inquiry, continued to the end of the second century, I propose, not to consider the pronunciation of any letter or word which prevailed after that period as any authority; not that those, who have leisure and inclination to sift the subject fully, will ever be content to leave the later writers unexamined; but that the generality of readers will be better satisfied with a small body of proof, drawn from writers of unquestionable authority, than with a

more elaborate inquiry, in which it would be necessary at every turn to examine, not only what is said, but who has said it; and in which I should be constantly running the risk of relying upon the testimony of witnesses, whom my opponents might think incompetent. But although, for this reason, the research be not carried lower than the second century in support of any proposition advanced, yet an objection founded on a passage from an author of later date may well be answered by an appeal, either to another passage from the same author, or to the authority of some other writer earlier than the one cited, though later perhaps than the second century; because here the authority of the answer must at least be admitted by the person relying on the objection; and he who will disregard the answer as drawn from an age of barbarism, will for the same reason disregard the objection. Further, when an author later than the second century relates historically, and with competent means of knowledge, what was the pronouncement of an earlier period, he may be considered as an authority, not for his own time, but for that of which he writes.

If the first rude efforts of the founders of the Hellenic race had been handed down to us, it might have been necessary to draw a line between the infancy and the maturity of their literature; but as the earliest work extant, that of Homer, displays an uncommon degree of perfection in

the diction as well as in the sentiment, we may say, that, though some writers may be too modern, none are too ancient, to be considered as good authority.

But supposing all authors born before the third century to be of authority, are all of equal authority? In answer to this, it may be said, that, as the structure of the language, during the period which the inquiry is to embrace, remained the same, the pronunciation also may in general be presumed to have continued without material change: so that if we find a word pronounced in a given manner in the time of Athenæus, we are warranted, in the absence of proof to the contrary, in supposing it to have been pronounced in the same way in the time of Homer: and what prevailed in Homer's time may be presumed to have continued till the age of Athenæus. But in some cases we have proof to the contrary; as for instance, we learn from Plato, that the first letter in *ἡμέρα* was written and pronounced in his own time in a different manner from that in which it had been in former times; which way then of writing and pronouncing this word is the right way? Certainly the way in which Plato wrote and pronounced it, namely that which prevailed last. For the same reason why, in modern languages, the pronunciation which is, is right; so in Greek, the pronunciation which is last is best, supposing it to have been altered within the period which we admit to have any authority at all; so that if between

the time of Plato and that of Athenæus the pronunciation had been again changed, the last mode would still have been the best.—“Superest igitur consuetudo: nam fuerit pene ridiculum malle sermonem quo locuti sunt homines, quam quo loquantur.”—*Quinctil.* I. 6. 43. So that all writers born before the third century, on points in which they do not contradict each other, may be cited as of equal authority. Where there is any discrepancy, the later author ought, for the reasons already given, to be considered as better authority than an earlier one. The writers who will be cited as authorities are the following:—

Born before Christ.		Born before Christ.	
Homer	1000	Tryphon.....	20
Hesiod	950	Born A. D.	
Pindar	517	Apion.....	15
Sophocles	498	Herodorus	15
Cratinus.....	487	Quintilian	42
Herodotus	484	Juvenal	42
Euripides	480	Plutarch.....	50
Thucydides	471	Aristides Quintilianus	50
Aristophanes	456	Suetonius	60
Plato	430	Draco.....	70
Demosthenes.....	385	Terentianus Maurus..	83
Aristotle	384	Ælius Dionysius	87
Aristoxenus	364	Aulus Gellius.....	100
Callimachus	290	Hephæstion	106
Plautus	227	Apollonius Dyscolus..	120
Aristarchus	203	Lucian	135
Dionysius Thrax	190	Herodian	150
Cicero	106	Sextus Empiricus	170
Virgil.....	70	Alexander Aphrodisi-	
Horace	65	ensis	177
Strabo	60	Diogenes Laertius....	179
Livy	59	Athenæus	188
Dionysius of Halicar-			
nassus.....	50		

I have fixed on the period of the birth of each writer, to enable the reader at a glance to see the interval between one and another. Where the exact date of the birth is unknown, I have taken the probable date, resulting from known events. For instance, I have fixed the birth of Aristophanes at 456 B. C. Not that the exact year of his birth is known ; but his first comedy was presented B. C. 426, at which time he may have been thirty years old : taking him to be seventy when he died (B. C. 386), would bring us to exactly the same date for his birth. The quotations from the early grammarians are not always from extant editions of their works, but often from later writers, who cite them, and must therefore be presumed to have read them. When Eustathius, for instance, informs us how Aristarchus pronounced a word, I consider this to be good evidence of the proper pronunciation in the time of Aristarchus, though I am not able to produce the work from which the citation is made.

I do not think it necessary to enter upon critical inquiry into the merits of these writers, nor how far they varied in style or in judgement : it will surely be conceded to the Greek writers at least, that they knew how their own language was pronounced. Of the Latin writers cited, there is not one whose works do not show that he was well read in Greek. But as more extensive citations will be made from Quintilian than

from any other author, it may not be amiss to give a short account of him.

Quintilian was born about the time of the Emperor Claudius, either at Rome, or more probably in Spain. It is however clear, that he was educated at Rome, that he pleaded causes there, and that he taught a school of rhetoric, with a degree of reputation which caused him to be selected as the teacher of part of the imperial family. He is supposed to have commenced his celebrated work on the education of an orator about the 47th year of his age: he certainly finished it about a century before the period which we have fixed upon as the era at which the purity of the Greek language may be assumed to have begun to decline. The fashion at Rome at that time was to cultivate Greek in their schools, either in conjunction with their native tongue, or sometimes even in exclusion of it. Quintilian's accurate knowledge of Greek literature might safely therefore have been inferred from his celebrity as a teacher, had it not shone forth as it does through every page of his masterly work. Imbued as he was with Greek learning, in daily communication as he must have been with Greek rhetoricians and grammarians, and constantly turning his mind to a comparison between the structure, the genius, the merits, and defects of the two languages, writing with a knowledge of the world, which is only acquired by taking part in the business of the world, and

with that accuracy which is learned only by teaching, he may fairly be cited as an authority second only to Aristotle himself. But even supposing any doubt among scholars as to the purity of his taste or the accuracy of his judgement, it seems at least impossible to question his knowledge of the pronunciation of the Greek language, which prevailed during the first century among well-educated persons ; and on this point alone will he be cited in the following pages. I quote from the Oxford edition, "*Marci Fabii Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria, Libri duodecim, juxta editionem Gottingensem Johannis Matthiæ Gesner,*" 1806. Each book is divided into sections, and each section into paragraphs. I. 6. 10, means the first book, sixth section, tenth paragraph.

INQUIRY CONFINED TO ATTIC DIALECT.

4. It now only remains to be ascertained to what dialect our observations are to apply, or whether a separate inquiry is to be instituted as to each. The Greek language is divided into two great dialects, and these again subdivided each into two, so that we may sometimes find the same word written and pronounced four different ways, accordingly as it appears in an Ionic, *Æolic*, Attic, or Doric writer. It is not intended to pursue this inquiry with respect to all these dialects, but to limit it to the Attic, because that dialect seems by the common consent of the Greeks themselves to have been considered as

having been carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection than any of the other three ; and because by far the larger proportion of the works now extant are Attic. The Alexandrian grammarians especially, from whom the best information on our present subject is derived, wrote mainly with reference to that dialect. But though for the sake of precision the Attic dialect be fixed on so as to exclude others where they differ from it, there are so many points where they all agreed, that an inquiry into one will throw light upon the others. Indeed with regard to the pronunciation of each particular letter, it may be doubted whether all the dialects did not agree ; for if they had not, though their pronunciation was different, their orthography would perhaps have been the same. What the Attics called *ἡμέρα* the Dorians called *ἁμέρα*, and so wrote it ; which makes it probable, not that the Dorians pronounced the letter H in a different manner from the Attics, for, if they had, they would have retained the word *ἡμέρα* in their writings ; but that they gave to the first syllable of the word a specific sound, which both they and the Attics represented by the letter A. If this be the case, any general observations on the mode of pronouncing the letter H by the Attics will be equally true of the Dorians, though it may still be true that the Dorians often substituted the A for it ; where, however, the orthography being the same the dialects differed in pronunciation,

if ever they did so differ, I shall consider my observations as confined to the Attic method of pronunciation, and reject the other, not as being wrong, for strictly there can be no right or wrong in such things, but as being simply different from the more widely received and more perfect dialect. It should be further observed that the pronunciation to which alone our inquiry ought to refer, is that of well-educated men, according to Quinctilian's rule, "*Consuetudinem sermonis vocabo consensum eruditorum; sicut vivendi, consensum bonorum.*"—I. 6. 45. I doubt whether some critics, particularly among the modern Greeks, have sufficiently attended to this distinction.

Having thus settled the period to which our inquiry is to extend, the degree of authority to be conceded to the authors who wrote during that period, and the dialect to which our observations will principally apply, I shall proceed to inquire, first into the pronunciation of the particular letters of the Greek alphabet; and, secondly, into the accentuation of words.

ANALOGY BETWEEN THE GREEK AND LATIN.

5. With respect to the pronunciation of the Greek letters, it is to be observed, that, in a case where so much precision is required, little light can be derived from general analogy between the Greek and Latin languages. Want of attention to this obvious truth has caused much perplexity. Ingenious scholars have, in many cases,

proved to their own satisfaction the right mode of pronouncing the letters of a given Greek word, from the Latin word corresponding with it; though this reasoning assumes, not only a general analogy between the two words, but also, that each letter of each must have had the same sound as the corresponding letter in the other word; and further that we know exactly what was the sound of each in the Latin. Those who have made the deepest researches into the origin of the Latin language and its connexion with the Greek, will, perhaps, end as the Bishop of St. Davids has done, in concluding that, "we must be content with knowing, both as to the language and the race, that no notion of them, which either confounds or rigidly separates them, will bear the test of historical criticism." —*Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 56. How entirely fallacious then must be any reasoning from analogy on so nice a subject as the pronunciation of letters! To give an instance: that the Latin word *fur* is derived from the Greek $\phi\upsilon\rho$ seems very probable from the meaning being the same, and from the general similarity of the words; nor is there anything in the judicious scepticism of the bishop to prevent our supposing the Latin word to be so derived: but how does this assist us in the pronunciation of the particular letters? Is the Greek Ω to be pronounced like the Latin U? This would be a conclusion, which, to say the least of it, is so

improbable as to require strong confirmation. But perhaps it will be said, that, admitting a doubt about the sound of the corresponding vowels in these two words, at any rate the consonants have the same sound, the F, for instance, the same as the Φ. So far from it, that we shall find that the sound of the Roman F was so different from any in the Greek language, that a Greek was unable to pronounce it. Again, what sound has the Greek B? Analogy would give it three or four, namely

P in *papæ*, from βαβαί.

V in *volo*, from βούλομαι.

F in *fremo*, from βρέμω; and perhaps

B in *superbus*, from ὑπέρβιος.

Sus is probably derived from *ŭc*, *septem* from ἐπτά, *serpo* from ἔρπω, *satio* from ἄλλομαι. Was then the Greek aspirate sounded like the Latin S? Numerous other instances will occur to every reader, sufficient to convince him, that such general analogy affords no light to the niceties of the subject under examination, and ought either to be rejected altogether, or admitted with the utmost caution. Indeed, the degree of similarity which subsists between the two languages as to their structure, and particularly that of their poetry, is sufficient to mislead us into an assumption, that the pronunciation may have been similar. We have high authority the other way. Quintilian says, “*Latina mihi facundia, ut inventione, dispositione, con-*

silio, cæteris hujus generis artibus, similis Græcæ, ac prorsus discipula ejus videtur; ita circa rationem eloquendi vix habere imitationis locum.” —XII. 10. 27. It is obvious that in transplanting a word from one language to another it must be subject to modification :

“Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadant, parce detorta.”

Horat. Ars Poet. 52.

In the case of English and German, supposing them to become dead languages, in such words as *wagen* and *waggon*, *wein* and *wine*, *wunder* and *wonder*; how natural would be the assumption that the first letter of each was sounded alike, and yet how fallacious !

Another objection to this reasoning from the analogy between the two languages, is that it generally explains what is uncertain by what is more uncertain. Admitting that the Ω in φῶρ is to be pronounced like the U in *fur*, how was this last pronounced? Must we follow the Italians, the French, the English, or the modern Greeks? for all these pronounce the U differently. The preference will probably be given, and rightly given, to the Italian. But why is the modern Italian's pronunciation of U better authority than the modern Greek's pronunciation of Ω? If we are to go back to the authors on the subject, we have at least as good direction for the proper mode of pronouncing Greek as Latin, and I think in most cases better. But

although we can derive little information from the form which an old Greek word assumes after migrating to Italy, we cannot refuse our attention to a species of evidence nearly akin to this, namely, the form which Greek writers give to Latin words, and especially names of men and places. Here we draw no conclusion from mere analogy of the two languages, or from a common root communicated in an imperfect state of the alphabet, or perhaps derived by each, without communication with each other, from an older language which has been the origin of both. A Greek writer, long after his own alphabet is complete, finds a Latin name, utterly unknown to his own countrymen, but which he wishes to communicate to them. It is probable that he will adopt those Greek letters which exactly represent the Latin sound, or in default of them, those which come nearest to it. Still, however, the knowledge we gain from such a translation is far from exact, from this reason, that we do not know what Latin letters had Greek letters of an equivalent sound; nor, if we did, could we predicate with certainty, though we are very apt to assume, what was the pronunciation of the Latin letter. Further, in the names, particularly of celebrated men and well-known places, the Greek, instead of representing the exact sound, may choose to hellenize the word to make it more familiar to his own countrymen, as we have anglicized Lyons, Naples, and Flo-

rence. Besides, it is not unlikely that the names of well-known places in Italy, and of celebrated Roman men, particularly the emperors, would be pronounced according to the Latin manner, even by the Greeks, who in their inscriptions and coins might represent each single Latin letter by that Greek letter which had the same place in the alphabet, or the same shape with it, without consideration as to the way in which it would have been pronounced in any ordinary Greek word.

This mode, therefore, of proving the identity of sounds, though not rejected altogether, will be used sparingly, and in aid of direct authority, but never against it.

MISTAKES IN INSCRIPTIONS.

6. Another mode of proving the right pronunciation, namely the mistakes in ancient inscriptions, though very frequently appealed to, and particularly by the modern Greeks, must be adopted with great caution. The ancient marbles are of the utmost importance to us in tracing the history of the alphabet, and enabling us to judge of the period at which particular letters or combinations of letters came into use; but when they contain such mistakes as show them to have been the work of men ignorant of their own language, this, though it take away nothing from their historical authority, makes them much less conclusive upon the particular points which we are

now discussing. For instance, in an inscription mentioned by Dr. Wordsworth, the word ἐκριζωθήσετε is found for ἐκριζωθήσεται (he shall be rooted out).—*Athens and Attica, Journal of a Residence there, by the Rev. C. Wordsworth*, p. 145.

This will be cited by the modern Greeks, as many similar blunders have been, as proving that the E and the AI were pronounced alike; but we must always bear in mind that we are discussing the pure pronunciation of well-educated Greeks, and how can we be sure that any one so ignorant as to write the future passive with an E had not vulgarisms in his pronunciation, and particularly in that very syllable? It may perhaps at first appear somewhat arrogant to assume, that we know how Greek ought to have been written better than the Greek who wrote it; but the truth is, that a modern scholar, with the advantage of the whole treasure of ancient literature, and the collation of manuscripts, is a far better judge of the orthography of the language than ninety-nine out of a hundred of those who spoke it as a living language, without taking the trouble to study it. The inscription of Herodes Atticus, indeed, was not the work of an ignorant man; but it was carefully and even pedantically framed to represent the orthography of an age long gone by, and may, perhaps, have elaborately followed even the blunders of antiquity.

consider that this part of the dialogue was carried on by a yaffing cur. Again, these sounds imitative of animals are found in the comic writers, where they probably often, if not always, contained some allusion to passing events: we have handed down to us a single line of Cratinus, 'Ο δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει. This line has been honoured with much notice by scholars: its metre has been reformed by Porson, and its pronunciation discussed by Erasmus; the only thing in it which seems never to have been thought of is its meaning: can we suppose that Cratinus, who was not so inferior to Aristophanes as not to be generally classed with him, would have been content with so poor a joke as to describe a man saying βῆ like a sheep, unless there were some incident, either introduced in the context, or well known to the audience, which gave a point to the satire? And yet we have this insulated line gravely put forward by critics as a proof of the precise manner in which the B and the H were pronounced by the Athenians in the time of Cratinus. The correctness of the general imitation is not disputed: we might have understood, without the word πρόβατον, that the animal which said βῆ was probably a sheep, as an animal saying μὲ would most likely be an ox; but the question is, whether we can collect from it the exact manner of pronouncing either of the letters of which it is composed. These few observations having been

made upon the arguments drawn from the sounds of animals, it will not be necessary to make further mention of them ; not because they are beneath our notice, for, supposing the question itself worth considering, so is everything which throws light on it, but because they would tend merely to mislead us.

PUNS.

8. Another consideration which has not been enough attended to, is, that we are inquiring into the exact sound which each letter ought to have, and we have not proved our point when we have found one something near it. Unluckily, with some of the writers on this subject a pun is as good as a treatise, and the Joe Millers of olden time of as high authority as the Horne Tookes. To give instances. Several writers, to prove that the EI diphthong ought to be sounded exactly like I, cite the two following jokes: the celebrated Thais, on her way to pay a visit to one whose nickname was Grason, or the Goat, being asked whither she was going, quoted in reply the verse of Euripides,

Αἰγὲὶ συνοικήσουσα τῷ Πανδίωνος.

Athenæus, lib. 13. p. 586.

Here the pun consists in the equivocation between Αἰγὲὶ (Ægeus) and αἰγὶ (the goat), or, as Eustathius somewhat pompously explains it, κατὰ ὁμοφωνίαν παρηχητικὴν δύο πτώσεων δοτικῶν, ἥτοι τοῦ Αἰγὲὶ ἥρωικῶς, καὶ τοῦ αἰγὶ ζωικῶς.—*Od. I.*

p. 362, ed. Basil. Diogenes, when in a bath, seeing a boy enter who was suspected of having stolen the clothes of the bathers, asked him whether he was searching for ἀλειμάτιον (the oil-box) or ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον (another coat).—*Diogen. Laërt. in vita Diogenis Cynici*, ed. Webster, p. 340.

But here the object was fun and not philosophy. All that was wanting was, that the sounds should be sufficiently similar to raise a laugh. The second instance particularly, if treated as a strict demonstration, would show that the single Λ had precisely the same sound as the ΛΛ, and that the aspirate of ἱμάτιον was not sounded.

CHAPTER II.

1. NUMBER OF GREEK LETTERS.—2. VOWELS.—3. DIPHTHONGS.
4. CONSONANTS.

NUMBER OF GREEK LETTERS.

1. It will form no part of the plan of the following essay to discuss the date of the invention of letters. The use of language must have preceded the use of letters ; nor do we ever meet with the remotest hint that Cadmus taught the Greeks to utter sounds which they had never uttered before. The art invented or introduced by him seems, by common consent, to be considered as limited to the giving to the sounds of the human voice a visible and permanent representation. But though the exact date of this invention is not important to the present inquiry, it is material to learn, whether letters were invented in Greece, or brought thither from another country, where a different language was spoken ; whether all the letters now in use were invented at once ; and if not, which are to be referred to an earlier and which to a later age. If the letters had been invented by a Greek, he would most probably have found a character to

represent each of the primary sounds of which his language was composed ; so that the letters subsequently invented, though convenient, would not perhaps have been necessary. But letters brought from Phœnicia, supposing the Phœnician language materially different from the Greek, might often be so clumsy and imperfect a mode of representing Grecian language, as to drive the Greeks to add new letters of their own to express sounds not represented by the Phœnician alphabet ; so that the generally received history of the invention itself affords us no means of showing how many of the Greek letters represented primary sounds. We have strong and undisputed testimony that several letters of the Greek alphabet were not invented till after Homer's time : if Homer could write his poems without them, they could not have been absolutely necessary ; but if Homer was as illiterate as many men of letters have supposed, he may have uttered many sounds which the alphabet of his day had no means of representing. The lesson to be drawn from hence is one, not of despair, but of humility. We must be content to get what knowledge we can on the subject from authority and from tradition. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that some have considered the primary letters or elements of language to be thirteen in number, and that the rest are but compounds of these ; others again have made them more numerous even than the twenty-four,

which were then in use.—xiv. 92. To avoid repetition, it may be observed, that any quotation from Dionysius, without any other addition or reference, is to be considered to be taken from the treatise of Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*. I quote from the London edition, in octavo, 1747, ed. Upton: xiv. 92. means the fourteenth section and the ninety-second page of this edition.

It would have been more satisfactory if Dionysius had expressly told us what were the thirteen letters, which were by some considered as the elements of the voice (*στοιχεῖα τῆς φωνῆς*), and had added his own opinion: we shall, however, perceive as we go on what they were; and perhaps Dionysius, though willing to take the number as he found it, saw no absurdity in reducing the primary letters to so small a number.

VOWELS.

2. To begin with the vowels. One would suppose, from the long and bitter disputes which have arisen on the pronunciation of the Greek vowels, that this branch of the inquiry was wrapped up in utter uncertainty, instead of being explained (as it is) in the clearest possible manner by the best-informed of all possible witnesses. Dionysius thus points out the mode in which the Greek vowels ought to be pronounced:—

“The vowels are seven in number: two long,

namely the H and the Ω ; two short, namely the E and the O ; and thræ double-timed, namely the A, the I, and the Υ, which are both extended and contracted ; which some call double-timed, as I have done, and others changeable. All these are pronounced thus : the windpipe compressing the breath, the mouth disposed in an easy manner, the tongue not acting at all, but remaining unmoved. The long vowels, however, and those double-timed vowels which are made long in speaking, occasion an extended and continuous stream of the breath (*τεταμένον καὶ διηνεκῇ τὸν αὐλὸν τοῦ πνεύματος*) ; while the short, or those made short, are pronounced as if cut off with a single impulse of the breath and a short action of the windpipe. Of these, the most powerful and the sweetest in sound are the long vowels and those double-timed vowels which are lengthened in the pronunciation, because they are sounded for a long time and do not cut short the course of the breath ; the short, and those which are shortly spoken, are inferior, inasmuch as they are small in sound, and emasculate the voice. Of these long vowels, that which has the most agreeable sound is the A when it is extended : for it is spoken thus : the mouth as much opened as possible, and the breath directed upwards towards the palate. The second is the H, for it forms below, near the root of the tongue, the sound which is directed accordingly, and not upwards ; the mouth being

moderately opened. The third is the Ω ; for in this the mouth is rounded and the lips disposed into a circle, and the breath strikes upon the extremity of the lips. The Υ is less than this ; for here a considerable contraction (*συστολής γενομένης ἀξιολόγου*) takes place in the lips themselves, so that the sound is compressed (*πνίγεται*) and rendered shrill. The lowest of all is the I , for the impulse of the breath is against the teeth ; the mouth being but little opened, and the lips doing nothing to improve the sound.

“ Of the short vowels neither has a pleasing sound, but the less unpleasing is the O , for it opens the mouth more than the other, and receives the impulse of the breath more in the windpipe.”—xiv. 92.

I can imagine, that when in the introduction I was sweeping away so many sources of information as being of no real authority on our subject, some of my readers may have been inclined to ask what authorities I left : and in answer I now say, that this chapter of Dionysius ought to have more weight than all the conjectures, however learned, which have been raised from fancied similarities. Here, instead of guessing at the probable sound of a Greek vowel from its probable sound in another country, we have a Greek stating how it ought to be sounded in Greece. In place of the authority of a stonemason, we have that of a philosopher, critic and historian, learned himself, and writing for the instruction

of those who were to be liberally educated. Instead of telling us what these sounds would be like, if they were barked, grunted, or bellowed, he takes pains to instruct men how to enunciate them exactly by a proper disposition of the organs, and particularly the tongue, which animals, as far as my observation goes, do not use at all in modifying the sounds they utter. And lastly, the author's object is not to amuse, but to instruct; wit consisting mainly in bringing dissimilar things together, judgement in distinguishing between things which at first sight appear alike. I cannot help thinking, that, if this treatise of Dionysius had been in early times made a text-book in schools, no controversy would ever have arisen upon the pronunciation of the Greek letters, or upon the nature of quantity.

It may here be observed, first, that though Dionysius speaks of the vowels as seven, being the number for which characters had been invented, he evidently considers that the distinct sounds are but five, for he gives us no specific direction how to pronounce the E or the O, which he certainly would have done, had they been so different from the H and Ω as to require a different disposition of the organs. He gives us the sound of the long A, and leaves us to pronounce the short A by disposing the organs of speech in the same manner, only dwelling a shorter time upon it. With respect to the Y and the I, we are left in ignorance whether the pro-

nunciation pointed out is that of the long or of the short vowel, which shows clearly that both were pronounced with the same disposition of the organs, only with a different time. Are we then to conclude that the H and Ω were of no use, inasmuch as they are only placed for sounds which were represented before? or, if it were useful to point out by distinct characters the long and the short sound of those two vowels, is the Greek alphabet imperfect, in wanting such a distinctive character for the A, the I, and the Y? Perhaps to a certain extent both these propositions are true. The time or quantity of syllables must have been first learned by the ear and not by the eye, and was doubtless established by usage long before letters were invented; after that invention, a native Greek, as soon as he saw the letters of which a given word was composed, would require no further aid to teach him how long to dwell on each syllable. In the word ΔΕΜΟΣ, as it was written before the invention of the H, his ear would teach him to dwell longer on the first syllable than on the second. Even where the same word has different meanings, according to its quantity, few cases can be imagined in which the context would not point out the meaning intended; whether ΒΡΟΤΟΣ, for instance, meant *mortal* or *eatable*. In poetry this would generally appear from the place which the word held in the verse.

But though these arguments show the H and

Ω not to have been necessary, the very contrivance and continued use of these letters seems to prove their convenience. Nor can it be said, that the fact of no such distinction having been contrived for the other three vowels would equally show such a contrivance not to have been convenient; because, though men will not generally adopt any utterly useless invention, they will go on for centuries without inventions which are obvious and useful. And perhaps it would have been equally convenient if some such distinctive character had been framed for the other three vowels. It was chiefly for want of such a distinction that grammarians were afterwards driven to invent marks to distinguish long and short syllables. To draw an illustration from a modern language. A native Italian learns by his ear to pronounce the close *o* in *volto* (face) and the open *o* in *volto* (turned). And yet it would be very convenient for a foreigner learning Italian, if these two sounds, which are very different, were marked by a different character. And very probably those who, according to Dionysius, made the primary or elementary sounds more than twenty-four, considered the long sounds of A, I, and Y, as differing from the short, which it is clear they did in as great a degree as the E and O differed from the H and Ω. Indeed, Sextus Empiricus expressly says, that he considers the vowels as ten in number.—*Adv. Gramm.* c. v. Secondly, this passage of Dionysius, if every ex-

pression be read with as much care as it was written, will at once explain the nature of quantity, and solve all the difficulties which have been thrown by controversy round that simple subject. The long and the short vowel were pronounced with the same disposition of the organs ; the only distinction being, that the sound of the latter was cut short as soon as formed, while the former was continued for a long time by a protracted action of the breath. Nothing can be simpler or more intelligible than this distinction ; and yet it is to the want of understanding, or of attending to it, that a great part of the difficulties and the controversies on the subject of Greek pronunciation are to be attributed. It will be necessary to recur to this passage when we come to the consideration of accents.

Thirdly, if the particular expressions by which Dionysius points out the mode of uttering each vowel had been as obscure as they are clear, still it would have been evident that no two of the five vowels were pronounced alike ; for if they were, he would certainly have had one distinction less to point out ; for instance, if the H and the Y had been pronounced alike, he would not have entered into any particulars as to the method in which the latter is pronounced, but would have contented himself with saying, that it was in the same manner as the H. So that if we had been left in utter ignorance as to the proper mode of pronouncing the vowels H, I, and Y, still we should

have been able to say with certainty, that the mode now prevailing in Greece of pronouncing these three vowels alike, was not the mode in use among well-educated Greeks in the time of Dionysius.

A

It seems clear from the description of Dionysius, that this letter was pronounced as we sound the A in *father*. The modern Greeks so sound it, and so do most, if not all, the other nations of Europe. Our English mode of pronouncing the Greek A is peculiarly unfortunate, excluding the very sound which Dionysius thought the most agreeable.

E. H.

It seems equally clear that the E was pronounced as we sound the A in *baker*: the modern Greeks so sound it. With respect to the H, we learn from Dionysius that it was pronounced like the E, only with a longer quantity or time. And this is expressly confirmed by Terentianus Maurus:—

Literam namque E videmus esse ad ἥρα proximam:

Sicut O et Ω videntur esse vicinæ sibi.

Temporum momenta distant, non soni nativitas.

Apud Putch. p. 2393.

The modern Greeks, however, give to the H precisely the same sound as the I, namely, like the E in *mete*. It is particularly necessary with regard to this letter to bear in mind the distinction between vulgar and polite pronunciation.

Many are the inscriptions of unquestionable antiquity in which the H and I are used for each other. These are cited by the modern Greeks and by their classical advocates as proofs that these letters were pronounced alike; and the same inference is drawn from the expression in Plautus,—

Nam tuæ blanditiæ mihi sunt, quod dici solet
Gerræ germanæ, atque ædepol liroe liroe.

Pænul. act 1. sc. 1. v. 7.

where *liroe* seems to represent the Greek λῆροι.

I have already given the reasons why I think that mistakes in inscriptions ought not generally to influence us in deciding what was the pronunciation of the well-educated; and in the particular case now under consideration they are of still less weight, because opposed by the express testimony both of Dionysius and Terentianus. Neither can an expression, which is put into the mouth of a slave, afford any safe rule for polite speech. That *liroe* by no means affords us a certain guide as to the correct pronunciation of the letters of λῆροι, may further be inferred by its differing from λῆροι both in accent and quantity.

That the H differed in sound from the I appears plainly from a passage of Plato's Cratylus :
Οἶσθα ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι τῷ ἰῶτα εὖ μάλα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σώζουσι· νῦν δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ I, E, ἡ ἦτα μεταστρέφουσιν· οἶον, οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτοι ἡμέραν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ, ἡμέραν, οἱ δὲ νῦν, ἡμέραν.

(c. 15.) It seems evident from the whole passage, and particularly from the expression *φωνήν*, that Plato is speaking of a change which had taken place, not in the orthography, but in the pronunciation of the word; that the ancients pronounced the first letter as an I, and the moderns as an H, which must therefore have differed. The same inference may be drawn from the manner in which the Dorian pronunciation of the H was represented: for instance, in the 'Lysistrata' of Aristophanes (v. 86), where the Spartan woman is made to say *ἴκει* instead of *ἦκει*, the poet must have intended to ridicule her coarse and vulgar pronunciation; but what could have been the object of writing the I instead of the H, if both were sounded alike?

I.

The I was sounded like the E in *mete*. The modern Greeks so pronounce it: and here again the English, in differing from the modern Greeks, differ also from all the nations of Europe.

O. Ω.

The Greek O seems from Dionysius to correspond nearly with ours: the modern Greeks so pronounce it, only with a rounder and fuller sound, very grateful to the ear.

I have never been able to perceive any difference in the common discourse of the modern Greeks between the O and the Ω.

Υ.

The description of Dionysius is perhaps consistent with the pronunciation of this letter, being like that of the U in *lute* ; but the contraction of the lips being considerable (ἄξιολόγον), and the still stronger expression, that the sound is compressed or even suffocated (πνίγεται), seem to make it highly probable that it was pronounced like the French U. “ Perhaps the nearest letter to it in modern alphabets is the French accented U, the sound of which is indeed poor and slender ; but such Dionysius informs us that of the Greek Υ was.”—*R. P. Knight, Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet*: London, 1791, quarto, p. 22.

Mitford says, “ Strong national partiality only, and determined habit could lead to the imagination cherished by some French critics, to whom otherwise Grecian literature has high obligation, that it was a sound so unpleasant, produced by a position of the lips so ungraceful, as the French U.”—*Hist. of Greece*, ii. s. 3, *note* ; vol. i. p. 148, ed. 1820. And yet these very reasons incline me to side with the French critics, because the unpleasing sound and the ungraceful position of the lips agree with the description of Dionysius.

The modern Greeks pronounce this letter precisely in the same manner as they do the H and the I, namely, like the E in *mete*. I have already shown the impossibility of any two of the five vowels having been pronounced alike by well-

educated persons in the time of Dionysius ; that three should have been written differently, without any distinction of sound, seems still more unlikely. Besides, it can be shown from the following authority that the pronunciation of the Υ was different from that of the Ι. Aristophanes in his comedy of the ' Clouds ' introduces Strepsiades computing the debts in which the extravagance of his son has involved him, and reckoning among other things a bill for repairs of a chariot owing to Amunias—

Τρεῖς μναὶ διφρίσκου καὶ τροχοῖν Ἀμυνίᾳ.

Nubes, v. 31.

We learn from the scholiast that the satire was directed against Aminias, who, though invested with the dignity of archon, had exercised, or was perhaps even then carrying on, the craft of a chariot-builder. But as there was a law forbidding the bringing of a magistrate of that degree by name on the stage, the poet evaded it by changing one letter of the name. Now as the law was not against the writing of the name of the archon in a comedy, but against the pronouncing it on the stage, it is clear that a mere writing of Υ instead of Ι could have been of no use, supposing both those letters had then been pronounced in the same manner. Hermann reads the word in the scholium Ἀμυνίᾳ, and I dare say rightly (*Aristoph. Nubes*, ed. Hermann, Lips. 1799) ; but this does not invalidate the inference drawn from it, as the εῖ was only the long iota.

Indeed the modern Greeks, though great sticklers for the purity of their own pronunciation, are pretty generally ready to admit that the Υ could not have been pronounced like the I by well-educated persons in the time of Aristophanes. They content themselves with insisting that the alteration is small, which, supposing the Υ to have been pronounced like the French U , is true. You will find, if you first dispose the organs to pronounce the E in *mete*, nothing more will be required to produce the French U but a trifling contraction of the lips. Still, however, the difference, though trifling, is very perceptible; and unless we can persuade ourselves that a modern Parisian would perceive no difference between *ému* and *émi*, we can scarcely suppose that the ears of Aristophanes would not have been shocked at *Ἀμυνίᾱς* being sounded like *Ἀμινίᾱς*; particularly as such a pronunciation on the part of the actor would have cost him a fine, probably much exceeding the bill for the wheels and driving-box. Aristophanes describes the sycophant snuffing up the smell of roast meat, *ὕ, ὕ, ὕ, ὕ*. (*Plut.* 895.) This, I think, agrees better with the pronunciation of the French U than our E .

The dispute as to the proper pronunciation of the H and Υ was carried on with considerable warmth in the sixteenth century; those who advocated their pronunciation like the I being called *Iotists*, and their opponents *Etists*. The chief of the former was Reuchlin, and of the latter Eras-

mus, from whence the terms Reuchlinian and Erasmian pronunciation. The Erasmians infer, from many passages of ancient authors, that the same sound could not have obtained for so many different vowels ; as for instance,

εἴ μοι ξυνείη.—*Sophoc. Œd. Tyrann.* 854.

σὺ δ' εἰπέ μοι μὴ μῆκος.—*Antig.* 444.

A modern Greek in reading these passages would give to every syllable, except the last of εἰπέ and the last of μῆκος, the same sound, namely the iotacism.

DIPHTHONGS.

3. If Dionysius had added a few sentences on the pronunciation of the diphthongs, how much study and how many contentions would have been saved ! Unfortunately, he has passed them over without the slightest notice. Can this be neglect, in a work showing such elaborate care ? Our guide quits us at the very point where we most stand in need of his aid, leaving us equally in doubt where we are and why he has left us. The consequence is, that the greatest uncertainty has prevailed, and probably ever will, on the manner in which the Greeks pronounced their diphthongs.

The contest which I have mentioned between the Reuchlinians and the Erasmians was not confined to the pronunciation of the H and Y, but extended also to that of the diphthongs ; the Erasmians contending that they ought to be ex-

pressed by blending two sounds together, and the Reuchlinians supporting the pronunciation of the modern Greeks, who make single sounds of them. Which party is in the right? I think both. I have always been pleased with the fable which we learn in our infancy, and too soon forget, of the two knights, who after a stout contest as to the materials of a shield suspended on a tree, found that it was silver on one side and gold on the other, and that their dispute might have been saved, if they had looked on both sides. On such a subject it sounds almost ridiculous to boast of one's impartiality; and yet it is curious to observe how few of the writers upon it have treated it with indifference or even fairness. The question seems, in the early days of European literature, and especially in the sixteenth century, to have excited a party-spirit very unfavourable to the elucidation of truth. Both parties pressed their own arguments too far, and both perverted or misunderstood the reasoning of their opponents. In some instances the strength of argument was enforced, or the lack of it supplied, by academical and episcopal authority. The Erasmians, before they come to the passages in ancient authors which seem to favour their mode of pronouncing particular diphthongs, found in the outset an argument on their side upon the very etymology of the word διφθογγος (double-sounded); whereas, say they, if the sound had been single, though represented by two letters,

it would rather have been called διγγραφος. (*Me-kerk. de ling. Græc. vet. pronuntiatione, apud Havercamp.*, p. 123.) They further infer, from the division of some of the diphthongs into two syllables by the poets, and particularly by Homer, that each of the sounds must have existed in the syllable before it was so divided. (*Ibid.* 124.) Then Terentianus Maurus expressly says, that the origin of the term diphthong was, that two letters joined together are blended in sound into one syllable.

Unde diphthongos eas
Græciæ dicunt magistri, quod duæ junctæ simul
Syllabam sonant in unam.

Apud Putsch. p. 2392.

We must be content, in the absence of Dionysius, to follow Terentianus, whose work carries in every page abundant internal evidence that he was well skilled in the niceties, not only of the structure, but of the pronunciation and rhythm of Greek. His only defect is, that he chose to write in various metres, which, in a subject requiring great precision of expression, makes him appear quaint and pedantic, and sometimes obscure. The Erasmians are further able to produce, in favour of their theory, many passages which will be discussed under the heads of the different diphthongs.

The Reuchlinians, though unable to confute the general presumption to be drawn from the etymology and the Homeric usage of the diphthong, appeal in their turn to other passages of

authors, which, by showing that some at least of the diphthongs have a single sound, disprove, by reducing to absurdity, a theory, which, if good at all, is as good for one diphthong as another. These authorities are so discrepant as at first to appear to be utterly irreconcilable with each other ; and yet, as they proceed from writers who could not have been mistaken, no theory can be sound which rejects either. The most probable mode of reconciling them seems to be, by supposing some of the diphthongs at least to have been differently pronounced in different ages.

AI.

The diphthong AI is that whose pronunciation is the most difficult to make out, if we merely weigh the conflicting testimonies ; but most simple, if we suppose the manner of expressing it to have varied at different times.

It seems probable that in the word *παῖς* in Homer's time each of the four letters was fully sounded ; that by degrees the vulgar neglected this double sound, and changed it to a single sound, pronouncing it like our *pace* ; and that by degrees this latter sound prevailed, not only among the vulgar, but at last also among the well-educated. This theory has the advantage of reconciling all the authorities. The Homeric use here is in favour of the Erasmians : if Homer had pronounced *παῖς* *pace*, as the modern Greeks do, making the sound single, like our long A, it

is difficult to account for his using it as a disyllable, as in

*Αψ δ' ὁ παῖς.—*Il. Z. 467.*

I say, using it as a disyllable ; for when the Erasmians call this a diæresis, they are assuming that the monosyllabic form was the more ancient, which is at least doubtful. Buttmann thinks that in most words of this kind the contrary is the case ; that grammarians are accustomed to represent everything of this kind as diæresis, because they always have the common form before their eyes, whereas the common form may as well be a contraction from the separate form, and in most cases is so ; and he gives an instance, εῦ for εὐ, from εὐε, there being no such word as εὐε. (*Griech. Gramm. 28. p. 48, note.*) If this theory were universally true, and there is at least no improbability in it, it would follow, that in the original constitution of the Greek language there were no diphthongs at all, but that these arose from a contraction of two syllables into one by the early poets, and then by the dialects, and particularly the Attic. However this may be, we find the plural of παῖς used by Homer in the diphthongal form :—

Δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες.—*Il. Z. 127.*

Admitting that παῖδες be not the original Hellenic form, but contracted from παῖδεε, it seems more probable that Homer should have pronounced both the vowels, though rapidly slurring them together, than that he should have substituted

for these two sounds a third single sound, unlike to either. Plutarch, in his 'Convivial Disputations,' or, as it may be freely translated, Table Talk, puts into the mouth of Protogenes the Grammarian the reasons why A stands at the head of the letters. First, as a vowel, it is more worthy than the consonants; then, as being one of the common or double-timed vowels (*διχρόνων*), it is of greater power than those which are exclusively either long or short; and lastly he says, that of the three double-timed vowels the A takes the lead (*ἡγεμονικωτάτην ἔχειν τάξιν*), because it stands before the other two, but never after them: οὐτε τοῦ ἰώτα δεύτερον οὐτε τοῦ Υ ταττόμενον ἐθέλει ὁμολογεῖν, οὐδὲ ὁμοπαθεῖν, ὥστε συλλαβὴν μίαν ἐξ ἁμφοῖν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦν καὶ ἀποπηδῶν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ζητεῖν αἰεὶ ἐκείνων δὲ ὁποτέρῃ βούλει προταττόμενον ἀκολουθοῦντι καὶ συμφωνοῦντι χρῆσθαι, καὶ συλλαβὰς ὀνομάτων ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ τοῦ ΑΥΡΙΟΝ, καὶ τοῦ ΑΥΛΕΙΝ, καὶ τοῦ ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ, καὶ τοῦ ΑΙΔΕΙΣΘΑΙ, καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων.—*Συμποσιακ. Προβλημ.*, Lib. IX. Quæst. 2. s. 2. vol. iii. p. 1045, ed. Wyttienbach. Oxon. 1797.

This theory as to the pronunciation of the AI accounts for Dionysius making no mention of it. Having learned how to pronounce the A and the I, we need no further instruction to pronounce them consecutively. That Dionysius himself so pronounced them in reading Thucydides, appears pretty evident. In treating of the different styles of composition which are to be observed with

reference to the arrangement of words, and the harshness or smoothness which results from negligence of such arrangement, or attention to it, Dionysius divides the styles into three, the austere, the florid, and the middle. Besides carelessness as to the roundness and equality of the periods, one characteristic of the austere style is, great negligence as to the harmony with which words and parts of sentences fit, or, as we commonly say, run into each other. The writers whom he mentions as examples of this style are, in epic poetry, Antimachus and Empedocles, in lyric poetry Pindar, in tragedy Æschylus, in history Thucydides, in oratory Antiphon. After an analysis of a passage of Pindar, to which I shall have occasion to refer to show his pronunciation of the *OI*, he proceeds, in further illustration of his remarks, to criticise the opening of the history of Thucydides: *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων*. After remarking on the harshness arising from one word ending with *Σ* while the next begins with *Ξ*, and from the combination of the four subsequent words, he comes to the two last, upon which he remarks, that they destroy the continuity of the harmony, and oblige the reader to make a sensible interval between them, because the sound of the *I* and the *A* are incapable of being blended:—*Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἡ τῶν φωνηέντων παράθεσις, ἡ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ κώλου τοῦδε γενομένη, ἐν τῷ “καὶ Ἀθηναίων” διακέκρουκε*

τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἁρμονίας, καὶ διέστακε, πάννυ αἰσθητὸν τὸν μεταξὺ λαβοῦσα χρόνον. ἀκεραστοὶ τε γὰρ αἱ φωναὶ τοῦ τε Ι καὶ τοῦ Α, καὶ ἀποκόπτουσαι τὸν ἦχον. —xxii. 196.

Observe that he does not attribute the harshness merely to the one word ending with a vowel and the next beginning with one, but expressly to the incompatible nature of the Ι and the Α, which has the effect of cutting off the sound and preventing the words from running harmoniously into each other. If it be objected, that this mode of sounding both the vowels of the diphthong consecutively makes the diæresis of the poets unnecessary, as *παῖς* so pronounced would virtually be *παί|ς*, I answer, that, in the first case, both vowels, though separately sounded, are passed over hastily so as to form one syllable, while in the second a sensible pause is made between them. It should be remembered that Terentianus does not say that the component vowels of a diphthong are blended into one sound, but into one syllable, and the diæresis, of which the poet availed himself to break it into two, if he ever did so, would be expressed by a marked pause between the Α and the Ι, as in ἡ *παῖς ἄφρων* (*Il. A.* 389); and the diæresis would be still more strongly marked in *Αψ δ' ὁ *παί|ς*, where the two syllables are component parts of two different feet.

I would here observe, that though Dionysius, in reciting the history of Thucydides for the im-

provement of correct scholars, would, no doubt, pronounce the *καὶ* in the manner above mentioned, it by no means follows that such a pronunciation was retained by the common people of his day, nor at all unlikely that Dionysius himself, in addressing his slave, would pronounce *παῖ* like our English word *pay*. But however this may have been, we find that by the time of Sextus Empiricus, who wrote about 220 years after Dionysius, the AI had no longer a double sound, but was pronounced like a simple vowel. Sextus, in his treatise against the grammarians, after showing that, on the hypothesis of the letters O and Ω and E and H being virtually the same, the actual number of vowels ought rather to be five than seven, goes on:—"On the other hand, some philosophers will have it, that there are more elementary sounds (*στοιχεῖα*), which have a different power from those which are commonly taught, such as AI and OY, and whatever is of the same nature. For in general an element is to be distinguished as such from its having a sound not compounded, but single, such as that of A, E, O, and the rest. Since, therefore, the diphthongs AI and EI are simple and single, these must also be elementary sounds; and the proof of their simplicity and singleness is as follows: a compound sound does not continue to the end as it first strikes the ear, but is changed in the course of its extension. But a simple sound, such as ought really to be classed among the

elements, on the contrary is unchanged from the beginning to the end. As, for instance, when we give an extended pronunciation to PA, it is obvious that the ear does not catch the same sound at the first vibration as at the last ; but it will be struck in the first instance by the pronunciation of the P, and when that has passed away, it will afterwards be impressed with the genuine sound of the A, for which reason PA, and whatever resembles it, cannot be elementary sounds. But when we pronounce the AI there is nothing of the kind ; for the same character of sound is heard at the end as at the beginning, so that AI will be an elementary sound : and on the same principle, since the sound of EI and of OY is heard from the beginning to the end, single, simple, and unchanged (*μονοειδής, καὶ ἄσύνθετος καὶ ἀμετάβολος*), these will also be elementary sounds.”—*Adversus Grammaticos*, cap. v.

What then was this single sound of AI, which had obtained, before the end of the second century, so firm a footing among men of education, as to be taken for granted, and made an instrument for the sceptical philosopher to do, what he candidly owns was the chief object of this part of his work, namely *θλίβειν τοὺς γραμματικούς*? I say among men of education, for Sextus, in exposing the ignorance of the learned, could have founded no argument upon a pronunciation which obtained only among the vulgar. The Reuchlinian answers, that it was the same sound as the

modern Greeks give to it, namely that of E ; but this is scarcely reconcileable with the expression, that these new elementary sounds have a different power from those which are commonly taught, of which E was one. The single sound of AI among the educated, was probably something like the E, though a little differing from it, while with the vulgar they were exactly identified. And that this had obtained for nearly 500 years, we learn from the following distich of an epigram of Callimachus :—

Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναιχὶ καλὸς καλός· ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
Τοῦτο σαφῶς, ἥχῳ φησί τις, ἄλλος ἔχει.

Brunck Analecta. Argentorat., vol. i. p. 461.

There is little to be said either for the wit or the morality of these lines, but it is quite clear that what point there is, consists in the word ναιχί, which has been dragged in for the very purpose, being an echo or rhyme to ἔχει. Neither do the remarks made in the outset on the ἀλειμάτιον of Diogenes and the αἶγι of Thais apply here. This is not a mere pun, in which the jest is good, if the hearer be reminded of two opposite things ; the expression ἥχῳ requires that the two words should sound alike, and if we pronounce ναιχί either with the A and I consecutively, as Homer probably did, or as we commonly do in England, the epigram becomes utterly unintelligible. Callimachus, who wrote 240 years before Dionysius, would probably, in reciting Thucydides, have pronounced it as Dionysius did ; but this epigram

would meet such a pronunciation of *βαίχι* as he heard daily in the streets of Alexandria.

I have already stated, that as the discussion turns on the pronunciation of the educated, I found no argument on the mistakes in inscriptions. I could produce many inscriptions in which the E is substituted for the AI, as AAK-MEONIDAI, AΘHNEΩN for AΘHNAIΩN, which can only be accounted for by supposing the sounds to have been the same among the majority of the people. Neither do I think any analogy to be drawn from the Latin a safe guide; but it may be remarked, that it seems probable that in some of the Latin diphthongs both vowels were originally sounded, as Quintilian attributes Virgil's use of such an inflexion as *pictai* to his fondness for antiquity:—"AI syllabam, cujus secundam nunc E literam ponimus, varie per A et I efferebant, quidam semper ut Græci: quidam singulariter tantum, cum in dativum vel genitivum casum incidissent, unde *pictai vestis*, et *aulai*, Virgilius, *amantissimus vetustatis*, *carminibus inseruit*."—i. 7. 18.

The theory that the I in AI and OI might be preserved in reciting old poets and historians long after it had been omitted by the vulgar, or even in the common discourse of the learned, will also apply to the I adscript, which we find used to mark certain inflexions of nouns and verbs; and will enable us to reconcile passages which at first seem to be discrepant. On the

passage in Pindar, Διόθεν τέ με σὺν Ἀγλαΐαι ἴδετε, Dionysius points out an instance of harshness, that Ἀγλαΐαι, which ends with an I, is followed by ἴδετε, which begins with one. (Τῷ, σὺν Ἀγλαΐαι, εἰς τὸ I λήγοντι, τὸ, ἴδετε πορευθέντες αἰοιδαῖς ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ I.—xxii. 190.) On the other hand, Strabo, speaking of an inscription in which the dative αὐδῇ was written without the I, adds, πολλοὶ γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ I γράφουσι τὰς δοτικάς, καὶ ἐκβάλλουσί γε τὸ ἔθος φυσικὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον (Lib. xiv. p. 959, ed. Amstel.). Unless the assertion, that the writing the I has no natural cause, means, that it is not sounded, it is not easy to understand the passage. And Sextus Empiricus says, Οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαπτόμεθα, εἴαν τε σὺν τῷ I γράφωμεν τὴν δοτικὴν πτώσιν, εἴαν τε μὴ (*Adversus Grammatic.* c. 9.). Apollonius says that the word νικῶ may be either of the first or second person, according to the mood: νικῶ (I conquer) being the indicative, and νικῶ (be thou conquered) the imperative: he adds, that it may also be made of the third person by adding the I, and so making it of the optative mood, in which case it would have the same pronunciation (ὁμῶς γοῦν ἀκουόμενον συνεμπίπτει τῇ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον προφορᾷ), *Syntax.* iii. 7. p. 211.

The mode now generally adopted of writing the I under the word can be no guide to us, as that mode was not adopted until so late as the thirteenth century. *Porson on Eurip. Med.*, v. 6.

OI.

I have first discussed the AI, not from alphabetical arrangement, but because the various authorities enable us to learn its history better. That the OI also was originally pronounced with the consecutive sounds of the letters of which it is composed, may be collected from the criticism of Dionysius in the same chapter upon Pindar, whom he cites as an instance, among the lyric poets, of the austere style; and finds the same fault with many of his combinations of words, as with the *καὶ Ἀθηναίων* of Thucydides, that they do not run harmoniously into each other. The passage chosen is the ode which commences with these words: *Δεῦτ' ἐν χορὸν Ὀλύμπιοι, ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί.* After remarking on the harshness resulting from the X following the N in the words *ἐν χορὸν*, he proceeds in the following words:—"The branch which immediately follows, namely *ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν*, stands off from the former by a considerable interval, and in many parts runs harshly and inharmoniously: for it begins with the vowel E, which comes after another vowel, namely the I, with which the preceding word ends; and yet neither of these is cut off by synalœpha or collision with the other, neither is the I placed before the E in one syllable; but a pause takes place between, which distinguishes the two branches, and gives each of them a decided emphasis of its own."—xxii. 184. This passage does not make so de-

cidedly against the Reuchlinians as the criticism on Thucydides, because, as the modern Greeks pronounce the OI exactly like the I, the remark of Dionysius would be equally well-founded, if we suppose that he so pronounced it himself. But if we take the whole context and compare it with the other criticism on the *καὶ Ἀθηναίων*, the more natural result seems to be, that in each passage Dionysius sounded both the vowels.

The only other authority which I have found as to the pronunciation of OI is a well-known passage of Thucydides, who after describing the plague which occurred at Athens during the Peloponnesian war, says, that the event brought up the recollection of an ancient tradition, foretelling a Dorian war accompanied by a plague, *Ἡξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς ἀμ' αὐτῷ*. Upon which the historian remarks, with his usual knowledge of mankind, that if, at some future period, a Dorian war should arise, accompanied by a famine, then they will recite (*ᾗσσονται*) this prophecy afresh, with the alteration of *λοιμὸς* instead of *λοιμός*. (*Hist. Lib. ii. s. 54.*) This passage is in favour of the Erasmians; for if *λοιμὸς* and *λοιμός* were pronounced alike, Thucydides would rather have used the expression *γράψουσι* than *ᾗσσονται*. They can scarcely have had the same sound in the line of Hesiod:—

Τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων
 Λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν.

Ἔργ. καὶ Ἦμ. v. 242.

The argument from diæresis does not seem to apply to this diphthong; for though we find *στονοέντες οἴστοι* (*Od. Φ. 12.*), we never find *οἴστος* in Homer, and why should not the trisyllabic form have been the more ancient?

EI.

When we come to the EI, we must give up the Erasmian theory altogether, unless we will reject the clearest testimony of Greeks and of learned Romans who lived when Greek was spoken in its purity. We have not only the authority of Sextus already cited, that in his time the sound of EI was single, but we have none that it was ever otherwise. Neither does the argument from the diæresis apply here, as I am not aware of any word in which Homer resolves the EI into εῖ, the *πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἔϊκτην* (*Il. A. 104.*) not being a diæresis from *εἰέκτην*, but more probably a reduplication before the digamma, *ῬεῖῬίκτην*, from *Ῥεῖκω*. Neither is *Ἄτρειδης* formed by diæresis of a diphthong, but is a patronymic, regularly formed from *Ἄτρεος*, or more properly *Ἀτρεῖος* from *Ἀτρεῖς*, which is proved by the fact, that Homer never uses it except in a foot where it can be a dactyl; no verse in Homer beginning with *Τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν*, though the Attic tragedians afterwards formed it by crasis into *Ἀτρεΐδης*. So *τείχεϊ* is not a diæresis, but the regular dative, from whence *τείχει* was subsequently formed.

It seems that in the early period of the alpha-

bet E stood for three distinct sounds : for a short E, as in EXΩ ; for a long one, as in ΔΕΜΟΣ ; and for a long I, as in ΕΜΙ. We find it in this last form in the Sigeian inscription, now in the British Museum, ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ ΕΜΙ (*Chishull, Antiq. Asiat.* p. 4 ; *H. J. Rose, Inscriptiones Græcæ*, p. 1. Cantab. 1825.), though in an earlier inscription on the lower part of the same stone it is said to have been written ΕΙΜΙ, but this is not now legible. So in a coin of Alexander the Great, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ stands for Ἀλεξάνδρεια. (*über die Aussprache des Griechischen und über die Bedeutung der Griechischen Accente, von Dr. Karl Fr. Sal. Liskovius, Leipzig, 1825, p. 67.*) In a marble found in Attica, copied by Fourmont, which Rose supposes to have been cut about 420 B.C., we find ΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕ for ἐπεσπάτει, and ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΣ for πρυτάνεις, though there is ΕΠΕΙΔΕ in the same inscription (*Rose, Inscript. Gr.* p. 117.). The H, which before had simply stood for an aspirate, was afterwards adopted to express the long E, and the combination EI, perhaps as arbitrarily, for the long I. We have the following authorities, that the EI, though classed among the diphthongs, was neither more nor less than the long iota. To begin with Terentianus :—

E, deinde *iōra*, Græca diphthongos EI sonat,
 Non erit semper necesse copulatas scribere,
 Seu Latina seu jugetur Græca longa syllaba ;
 'Iōra solum quod videmus sæpe produci, vel I.

"Ἰλιον nam sic jubemur scribere et producere :
 Dico sive fido longæ sunt priores syllabæ :
 Nec tamen nos E necesse est, post et I subnectere.
 Nec potest diphthongus aliter e duabus literis
 Ista componi, nisi ante principali in corpore
 E subesse ratio monstret, atque origo nominis.
 Δεῖμος inde sic notamus, quia δέος deprenditur.
 Inde Μήδειαν te oportet scribere isdem literis,
 Quia δέος non minus et istic, ut videre propalam est,
 Ipsa demonstrat subesse compositio nominis.
 Scribimus si quando νῖκος, ἰῶτα solum sufficit,
 Nulla præcedens origo quia subesse monstrat E.

p. 2393.

Hence it appears that δέιμος was sounded like νῖκος, and the reason for writing them differently is to be referred only to their etymology. "Diu-
 tius duravit, ut E, I, jungendis, eadem ratione
 qua Græci EI uterentur: ea casibus numerisque
 discreta sunt, ut Lucilius præcipit :

Jam pueri venere, E postremum facito atque I,
 Ut puerei plures fiant :

ac deinceps idem :

Mendaci furique addes E, cum dare furei
 Jusseris :

quod quidem cum supervacuum est, quia I tam
 longæ quam brevis naturam habet, tum incom-
 modum aliquando."—*Quinctil.* i. 7, 14. We
 are so used to identify the E with the sound to
 which it was last restricted, namely that of the
 Epsilon, that it is startling to us to find that it
 ever represented the long Iota. But not only
 was this one of the sounds of E, but there is
 great reason to suppose that it was its original

sound. This becomes highly probable from the fact, that, whenever the E was spoken of as a letter, it had that sound, as appears from the curious treatise of Plutarch on the EI at Delphi. This celebrated offering to Apollo seems to have been the single letter E cut out in wood ; and various conjectures seem to have been raised as to the persons who offered it, and the meaning of the offering itself. It is throughout the whole dialogue called a letter, particularly in the first section, and again in the third, where it is suggested, that the real number of the wise men of Greece was not seven, as vulgarly supposed, but five ; and that these five met together and dedicated to the god that letter, which is fifth in order, and which stands for the number five : ἀναθεῖναι τῶν γραμμάτων ὃ τῇ τε τάξει πεμπτόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὰ πέντε δηλοῖ. In the fourth section it is called the second of the vowels, εἶναι δὲ τῇ τάξει δεύτερον τότε EI τῶν φωνέντων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Another person, without suggesting that the first speaker has made any mistake in the manner of writing the letter, starts a totally different theory : he thinks that the offering means not *five*, but *whether* ; because all those who consulted the oracle prefaced their demand with that word, praying for a response, whether (EI) they should conquer, whether they should marry, &c. A third party to the dialogue, in a passage of striking beauty and sublimity, translates the offering *thou art*, as a devout acknowledgement of

that eternity of the Godhead, which alone can deserve the name of being (s. 17.).

In no part of the dialogue is there any allusion to the I as having any force or meaning of its own, but E and EI are considered as synonymous, and as represented by a single letter. On the whole, we are warranted on the faith of these authorities in pronouncing the EI as a long Iota, and so far at least our English pronunciation is right, that we pronounce both alike, though neither correctly.

OY.

The history of the OY bears a strong analogy to that of the EI.

I can find no trace of the two letters having been ever sounded, nor of any such form in Homer as *τούτο* for *τοῦτο*. The letter O had originally three sounds: that of the omicron, as in *XPONOS*; that of the omega, as in *ANΘΡΟΠΟΣ*; and a third sound, as in the last letter of the genitive *ANΘΡΟΠΟΥ*, for so it was in early times written, as we find *ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ* for *Φανοδικον* in the Sigeian inscription, now in the British Museum. So we find *ΑΠΟΔΟΝΑΙ* and *ΒΟΑΗ* in an Athenian inscription, made probably about 420 B.C. (*Rose, Inscript. Gr.* p. 117.) Dr. Wordsworth saw *ΘΑΝΟΣΗΣ* on a tomb, which he thinks may be as old as the Peloponnesian war (*Journal*, p. 215.). So *ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟ* for *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαύτου* in the inscrip-

tion on the monument called the Nointelian marble, because brought to Paris by the Marquis de Nointel, and now in the Louvre. It records the names of the Athenians of the tribe of Erechtheis, who had been killed in the war, and was erected 458 B.C. One of the list is ΘΟΚΥΔΙΔΕΣ, and yet we find ΦΡΟΥΡΑΡΧΟΣ in the same inscription (*Rose, Inscript. Græcæ*, p. 105; *Montfauc. Pal. Gr. Lib. ii. p. 134.*).

Πάντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῷ Ο ἀπεχρῶντο, οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ἧς νῦν τάττεται δυνάμεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε τὴν δίφθογγον διασημαίνει, διὰ τοῦ Ο μόνον γράφουσι.—*Athen. xi. p. 466.*

That this third sound of O was its primitive sound, seems probable from the fact, that O was so called when it was spoken of as a letter of the alphabet. “*Nam illa vetustissima transeo tempora, quibus et pauciores literæ nec similes his nostris earum formæ fuerunt, et vis quoque diversa: sicut apud Græcos O literæ, quæ interim longa et brevis, ut apud nos, interim pro syllaba, quam nomine suo exprimit, posita est.*” —*Quinct. i. 7. 11.* There are instances in one single line of an inscription of the O standing for all three sounds :

ΕΧΘΡΟΝ Δ' ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΧΟΣΙ ΤΑΦΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ.

Monumental Inscription on the Athenians who fell at Potidæa (B.C. 432.), found at Athens and now in the British Museum.

This pronunciation of O when spoken of as a single letter appears from the following epigram,

in which Thrasymachus sets forth the letters which spell his name :—

Τοῦννομα, θῆτα, ῥῶ, ἄλφα, σὰν, Υ, μῦ, ἄλφα, χι, οὐ, σὰν,
Πατρὶς Χαλκηδῶν, ἣ δὲ τέχνη σοφία.

Athenæus, x. p. 454.

So in a quotation from Callias describing the vowels :

“ Ἄλφα μόνον, ᾧ γυναῖκες, εἴ τε δεύτερον
μόνον λέγειν χρή. καὶ τρίτον μόνον γ’ ἑρεῖς
ἦτ’. ἄρα φήσω σοι τὸ τέταρτον τ’ αὖ μόνον,
ἰῶτα ; πέμπτον οὔ.

Ibid.

When Philip sent to demand of the Spartans that they would admit him into their city, they with their accustomed brevity replied by writing a single letter O, which being pronounced OY, answered for them in the negative: ‘ Ἐὰν δὲ βούληται λακωνίζειν αὐτὴν μόνην φθέγγεται τὴν ἀπόφασιν’ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, Φιλίππου γράψαντος, εἰ δέχονται τῇ πόλει αὐτὸν, εἰς χάρτην O μέγα γράψαντες ἀπέστειλαν (*Plutarch. de Garrulitate*, s. 21.).

The books here have OY, but it is clear that it ought to be written in one letter. Ausonius, speaking of the same transaction,—

Una fuit tantum, qua respondere Lacones,
Littera.

Epist. 25, 36.

There are also inscriptions of undoubted antiquity, in which the O is placed for OI, as ΕΠΟΕΙ for ἐποίει ; but that this was not often done, seems probable, from the rarity of such inscriptions, and from Quintilian’s silence on the subject.

What then was this third sound of O, which was afterwards represented by OY? Upon this the ancient writers give us no precise information. That it was ever strictly diphthongal, that is double-sounded in the Erasmian sense, does not appear from any author, except as far as it might be inferred from the silence of Dionysius as to its pronunciation. At any rate, if it were so, it had ceased to be so before the time of Sextus, who classes it among the single sounds. Terentianus tells us that it had the same sound as the Latin vowel V, whatever that was :

*Græca diphthongus sed OY literis nostris vacat,
Sola vocalis quod V (OY) complet hunc satis sonum.*

I quote these two lines from an edition by Carolus Lachmannus, Berolini, 1836. In Putch the lines are,

*Græca diphthongus OY literis tamen nostris vacat;
Sola vocalis quod V complet hunc satis sonum;*

p. 2391.

which seem evidently corrupt, as they do not fall into trochaic metre. It may be observed that the sound of the U in Italy and of the OY in Greece, are at this day precisely the same. If the Greeks have corrupted the sound, so have the Italians, and in the same manner.

Further, that the sound of OY was independent, and not like any of the vowels, appears from the criticism of Nigidius: "Græcos non tantæ incitiae arcesso, qui OY ex O et Y scripserunt, quantæ qui EI ex E et I: illud enim inopia fece-

runt, hoc nulla re subacti.”—Cited by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* xix. 14. Nigidius boldly says, that it was unnecessary, and even clumsy of the Greeks, to take the EI to represent the long sound of iota, for which the I itself would have served as well: but to the adoption of the OY they were driven by the poverty of their alphabet, having no character to represent the sound for which it stood.

AY. EY.

These two diphthongs, which have added not a little of difficulty and bitterness to the Erasmian dispute, may be treated of together. Homer seems to have used them in the separate form, κέκλετ' αὔσας (*Il.* Δ. 508.), ἔϋκτιμενον πτολιέθρον (*Il.* B. 501.), which affords an inference, that in his time the two consecutive sounds were used, at least before a consonant: he also occasionally uses the contracted or diphthongal form; for though I believe we shall not find in Homer the very word εὐκτίμενον as four syllables, we often find εὔ used as one; so αὔε δ' ἐταίρους (*Il.* Λ. 461.). When this pronunciation was changed, or whether it was ever changed in the Attic dialect, I have no means of showing; but certainly by Cicero's time, in that part of Italy called Magna Græcia, the Y of the diphthong AY was pronounced as a consonant, as it is over all Greece at present.

Cicero, in treating of the facility with which a superstitious mind may draw prophecies from

accidental sounds or expressions, gives this illustration : “ Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundusii imponeret, quidam in portu caricas Cauno adventas vendens ‘ Cauneas ’ clamitabat. Dicamus, si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum, caveret, ne iret : non fuisse perituum, si omini paruisset.”—*De Divinat.* ii. 40. This passage, as we pronounce the word Cauneas, is utterly unintelligible. But supposing the Greek pronunciation to have been given to *Καννέας*, sounding the Y like our V, and laying the accent on the penultima, it gives cavn’ éas, or cave ne eas (beware how thou go) ; and that Cicero so pronounced it, is clear from his own expression, “ caveret ne iret.” It must be borne in mind that Greek was very commonly spoken in that part of Italy in Cicero’s time, and indeed for many centuries afterward. I am not here assuming that we know exactly what was the sound of *V* in *caveo* ; all I contend is, that it is sounded like a consonant, and not as we commonly pronounce Cauneas. No one will, I think, contend that in “ cornu ferit ille, caveto,” the first syllable is to be pronounced as we sound the first of Caucasus.

The following inscription was found in the Island of Delos on the base of a statue :—

Ο ΑΨΥΤΟ ΛΙΘΟ ΕΜΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΦΕΛΛΑΣ.

Chishull, Antiq. As. p. 16.; *Rose, Inscript. Græc.* p. 19.

The T which no doubt stood at the head has been obliterated. It would be thus written in the later character : Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου εἶμι ὁ ἀνδρίας καὶ τὸ

σφέλας, "I am from the same block, both statue and base." How are we to account for the way in which the second word is spelt? R. P. Knight thinks the sculptor was in doubt which letter he should use (*Prolegom. ad Hom.* p. 86). Perhaps the Y was written for the Ionians, who were ignorant of the digamma, and the F for the Æolians. Liscovius mentions three coins of Vespasian in which ΦΛΑΥ. stands for Flavius: now it is not easy to conceive that the V in Flavius was not sounded like a consonant, but that it was so sounded appears further from our finding on other coins of about the same time, and particularly on one of the same year, Flavius rendered by ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ (*Liscov.* p. 51). I do not mean that either the Y or the B exactly corresponded with the V, but only that the former letter, to be so used, must in the time of Vespasian have sometimes sounded like a consonant: if AY had always sounded like our *awe*, it is improbable that any one could have employed it in the composition of the word Flavius. If, however, we find Φλαύιος for Flavius, we find on the other hand Κλαύδιος for Claudius (*Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom.* v. 66.); may not the latter be the old, and the former the more recent pronunciation? or may not the Greeks have in both cases contented themselves with rendering letter for letter, as nearly as their alphabet would allow, without reference to the pronunciation which would have attached to them in a Hellenic word? As this mode of pro-

nouncing, however, was most probably of Æolic origin, it is not conclusive upon us, who are confined in our discussion to the Attic ; neither is it necessary to consider whether the Υ, when thus used as a consonant, was exactly equivalent to the F, or digamma. The Delian inscription would lead us to suppose that it was ; though the received opinion of most scholars I believe is, that the Æolic digamma sounded like our W. Perhaps, however, it sounded differently at the end and in the beginning of a syllable.

From whatever dialect derived, this pronunciation has now spread all over Greece, where the Υ in ΑΥ and ΕΥ is sounded as a consonant, like an English F before a consonant, as βασιλεὺς (vasilefs), αὐτός (aftos) ; and like our V before a vowel, or before Λ, Μ, Ν, or Ρ, as εὐαγγέλιον (evangelion), νεῦρον (nevron).

If the Æolians ever pronounced the Υ in the diphthong ΟΥ like a consonant, this has not come down to the modern Greeks.

Besides the six diphthongs which have been mentioned, we find some grammarians enumerating six others, which they call improper diphthongs, namely ς, ϣ, ψ, ΗΥ, ΥΙ, ΩΥ. With respect to the first three, enough has been said upon the Αγλαΐαι of Pindar.

I doubt whether ΩΥ can properly be called a diphthong, as I do not think that it ever forms one syllable : nor does ΗΥ, except in the augment, as ἡῦδα, and in the Ionic, as νηυσί.

The ΥΙ has this peculiarity, that it never

occurs before a consonant, so that the I may have been inserted to break the unpleasing sound which the Y would have had followed by another vowel, and probably sounded itself as a consonant like our Y, as *υῖος* (*huyos*). The modern Greeks pronounce it simply *eos*. In a family monument, in the British Museum (No. 266.), to the memory of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΣΗ and others, the word YO occurs twice for *υιοῦ*.

Our method of pronouncing this diphthong, by making the first vowel sound like our W, is inharmonious in prose, and in poetry has the additional infelicity of spoiling the quantity, as in *φαίδιμος υῖος*, which we pronounce *wios*.

On the whole, the charge made by the Erasmians against the modern Greeks of having barbarously corrupted the diphthongal sounds of their ancestors, seems in no case made out. That they pronounce the EI and the OY as Homer did seems pretty evident. That they pronounce the AI differently from Homer and Thucydides seems probable, but we have no right to stamp with the stigma of corruption a change recognized and settled, while the language was in its vigour and purity. Surely the modern Greeks have reason to be content, if they speak as well as Callimachus and Sextus, without going back to Thucydides and Homer. It is true that the Erasmians and many modern scholars after them, prefer the more sonorous manner in which Homer may be supposed to have sounded the

AI and very probably the OI, to that which prevailed later, and which still prevails in Greece ; but such a preference can be no authority for obstinately refusing to admit a change recognized and adopted by a whole nation. As well might we persist in continuing Chaucer's long terminations of nouns and verbs as more melodious than our monosyllabic forms, which they certainly are.

The sounding of the second letter of the AY and EY as a consonant, though subsequent to Homer, may have taken place within the time of purity, and though probably Æolian in its origin may have been adopted in the Attic. And even with regard to the OI, though we may justly suspect the iotacism which the modern Greeks give to it, we must necessarily adopt the arguments of the Erasmians on this diphthong with caution, after having found them inconclusive respecting the AI.

CONSONANTS.

4. As to the pronunciation of the consonants, Dionysius gives us the fullest information (xiv. 96.). He divides them into semivowels and mutes. The semivowels, according to him, are eight in number, of which Λ, M, N, P, and Σ are simple, and Z, Ξ, and Ψ are double. He gives a particular description of the action of the organ in the pronunciation of each of these letters, which agrees in general with that which we adopt,

and also with that of the modern Greeks. We differ from them in our pronunciation of the final Σ, to which we commonly give the sound of Z; for instance, we pronounce πῶς *poze*, like the *s* in *rose*. The modern Greeks never give it this sound, except before the M: Σμύρνα they pronounce *Zmeerna*. And that this is an ancient mode of pronunciation appears from Lucian's Judgement of the Vowels, where the letter Σ, in complaining of the many instances in which T has usurped his rights, says, incidentally, that his patience has been shown in putting up so quietly with the wrongs of Z, τῷ ζῆτα σμάραγδον ἀποσπάσαντι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφελομένῳ τὴν Σμύρναν (ed. Hemsterhuis. I. 94.). Οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαπτόμεθα——ἐάντε διὰ τοῦ Σ τὸ σμίλιον καὶ τὴν Σμύρναν ἐάντε διὰ τοῦ Ζ, γράφωμεν (*Sextus Empiricus, Adv. Gramm.* c. 9.).

The modern Greeks, when N is immediately followed by Π, whether in the same or a different word, change in pronunciation the first into M and the second into B. I have not found any passage in any author of the time of purity to show that such a pronunciation is correct; the inscriptions which prove it to be at least ancient I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, when I speak more particularly of the modern Greeks.

The double consonants receive, according to Dionysius, a mixed sound, the Z of Σ and Δ, the Ξ of Κ and Σ, and the Ψ of Π and Σ. The two latter we pronounce accordingly, and in so doing

agree with the modern Greeks. We find δέξαι written ΔΕΧΣΑΙ, and ψυχὰς written ΦΣΥΧΑΣ in the Potidæan inscription in the British Museum already alluded to [p. 60]. So ΧΣΕΝΥΛΛΟΣ for Ξένυλλος, and ΑΔΕΧΣΙΑΣ for Αλεξίας in the inscription on the Nointelian marble mentioned [p. 60]. But this aspiration, if ever sounded, of which I find no further proof than these and some similar inscriptions, is now omitted in speech as universally as in writing.

In the Z we also agree with the modern Greeks, who pronounce ζέφυρος like our *zephyr*. This pronunciation does not exactly correspond with that pointed out by Dionysius, who places the Σ before the Δ; and that this is done advisedly, appears from a passage of Herodian:—“Why does the third conjugation never receive the Z in the future? *Answer*: because every barytone future has the Σ, either actually or virtually, immediately before the Ω, as νοήσω, γράψω, λέξω: for the Ψ is composed of Π and Σ, and the Ξ of Κ and Σ; but as the Ζ is composed, not of Δ and Σ, but of Σ and Δ, the future could not have the Ζ, lest the Δ should virtually (δυνάμει) be found immediately before the Ω.” Παρεκβολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήματος, edited in the Θήσαυρος, Κέρας Αμαλθείας, καὶ Κῆποι Αδώνιδος (*Aldus*, p. 193.). Plato says that the ancient Greeks often used the Δ singly instead of Ζ, as δημία instead of ζημία, δυογὸν for ζυγὸν (*Cratyl.* 31.). Perhaps this may account for Homer's

ἰλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.—*Od.* I. 24.

and

ἄστυ Ζελεΐης.—*Il.* Δ: 103.

The mutes which are nine in number, are divided by Dionysius into three classes (*συζυγίαι*). The first class consists of Π, Β, and Φ, all three of which are pronounced with the same disposition of the organs, that is, from the edge of the lips; the mouth compressed (*πιεσθέντος*) until the breath driven upwards forces them asunder. The only difference between the three, is in the amount of aspiration. *Μία μὲν αὐτὴ συζυγία τριῶν γραμμάτων ἀφώνων, ὁμοίῳ σχήματι λεγομένων, ψιλότῃτι δὲ καὶ δασύτῃτι διαφερόντων.*—XIV. 102.

This classification seems to explain the opinion to which Dionysius refers of some grammarians, who held the number of letters to be only thirteen: these grammarians probably looked upon the Π, Β, and Φ, as virtually the same letter, as being uttered with the same disposition of the organs, and varying in aspiration alone, so that they would make the mutes three instead of nine. We pronounce the Π, as do the modern Greeks, exactly in the manner pointed out by Dionysius. The Φ we also pronounce correctly, that is, with an aspiration; but the Greeks make the aspiration softer and fuller, and more like a sigh, though it is not easy to express the difference in writing. It might be supposed, from a general analogy between the languages, that the Roman F corresponded in sound with the Greek Φ; but the contrary appears from

Quintilian : “ Græci adspirare solent Φ, ut pro Fundanio Cicero testem, qui primam ejus literam dicere non posset, irridet.”—I. 4, 14.

The ancient pronunciation of the B had a large share in the controversy between the Erasmians and the Reuchlinians. We side with the former in pronouncing it like our B, while the Reuchlinians contend that the modern Greeks are right in pronouncing it like our V, as βασιλεὺς, *vasilefs*. Both manners of pronouncing are, perhaps, consistent with that pointed out by Dionysius; though the term *πισθέντος* applied by him to the mouth, seems to suit the B better than the V. That the B often has been used to represent the Latin B cannot be denied. The Erasmians rely much on a facetious letter of Cicero to Pætus (*Ep. Fam.* ix. 22.), from which it appears that the Greek word βίβει sounded like the Latin *bini*; but this can scarcely be taken as a proof that the Greek B sounded like ours. Cicero's object was to give his friend a hearty laugh, and the two words were near enough to each other for that purpose. How both would have laughed, if they had foreseen the grave criticism to which their fun was to be subjected! We find the Latin B frequently represented by the Greek Beta, as Brutus by Βροῦτος (*Dionys. Antiq. Rom.* I. 74.). But this use of the Beta for the Latin B is by no means conclusive; if the modern Greeks be right, which must at least be conceded to be possible, then there is no Greek letter of the precise

sound of the Latin B, which we consider equivalent to our English B, and the Beta may have been used to represent it as holding the same place in the alphabet, and as coming nearer to it than any other single letter. Then again it may be asked, how do we know what was the precise sound of the Latin B? The ancient authorities leave it as much open to us to contend that the B in Brutus sounded like our V, as that the B in Βροῦτος sounded like our B. If it be said that the modern Italians sound the B as we do, I ask why are the modern Italians better authority than the modern Greeks?

The Reuchlinians and modern Greeks, on the other hand, produce numerous instances in which the Roman V was represented by the Beta. Livia is rendered Λίβια by Plutarch, Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἐν τοῖς Δελφοῖς, s. 3. So Privernum by Πρίβερνον. (*Strabo*, lib. v. p. 237.) And again, speaking of the recolonization of the town of Como, which was thenceforward called Novum Comum, he says, Νεοκωμῖται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦτο δὲ μεθερμηνευθὲν Νοβουρκώμουμ λέγεται (lib. v. p. 326). Here it is obvious that he is not hellenizing the word, for that he has already sufficiently done by the expression Νεοκωμῖται, but is rendering the Latin "Novum Comum" into Greek either exactly, or as nearly so as the Greek alphabet will allow. Not that these authorities prove the correctness of the modern Greek pronunciation; the Roman V was more probably

pronounced like our W, and is not unfrequently rendered also by the Greek ΟΥ. Οὐιοὶ for Veii, (*Dionys. Rom. Antiq.* ii. 54.) Οὐελίτραι for Velitræ, and Οὐόλσκων for Volscorum (*Strabo*, lib. v. p. 237), and Οὐαλερίας for Valeria, Οὐενάφριον for Venafrum, Οὐουλτούρνος for Vulturnus (*Ib.* p. 238.). Dionysius, in speaking of Lavinium, has the word Λαουινίου (*Rom. Antiq.* iii. 34), and Λαβινιατῶν (*Ibid*, v. 61): and yet it is difficult to believe that under any circumstances the ΟΥ and the Β in any word of purely Grecian origin could have had the same sound. The more probable conjecture is, that the V in Lavinium had no Greek sound exactly corresponding with it.

The modern Greeks have no letter corresponding with our B; except that they give that sound to the Π when it comes after the Μ, as ἔμπηρ, *embes*. Accordingly they use ΜΠ to express the B of the Frank nations: and the Frenchman is invited to his favourite amusement by the unclassical combination Μπιλάρδο.

The second class of mutes are Τ, Δ, and Θ. These are thus pronounced, according to Dionysius:—The tongue is brought into contact with the roof of the mouth close to the upper teeth, and is then gently stirred by the breath, which it allows to escape in a direction from the teeth. Our pronunciation of the Τ and Θ, which is the same as that of the modern Greeks, seems to agree with that of Dionysius. The modern Greeks pronounce the Τ when coming after Ν, like our

D, as ἐντὸς, *endos*. A similar pronunciation perhaps prevailed at some period in the Latin. "Quid T literæ cum D quædam cognatio? Quare minus mirum, si in vetustis operibus urbis nostræ, et celebribus templis legantur Alexander et Cassantra?" (*Quinct.* i. 4, 16.) The modern Greeks pronounce the Δ like our TH in *that*; as δὲ, *this*; neither this pronunciation, nor that which we adopt of the English D, can be said to be contrary to the rule of Dionysius; for of each it may be said, that it has less aspiration than Θ, and yet more than T. That the modern Greek is the correct pronunciation seems probable, from the Doric pronunciation of Z being represented by ΔΔ, as γυμνάδδου for γυμνάζου (Aristoph. *Lysist.* 82.). Now the ΔΔ, as we pronounce them, create a sound entirely different from Z, but Z pronounced in a thick lisping manner, will be exactly represented by ΔΔ, according to the modern Greek pronunciation. It is a great facility to an Englishman, in learning this pronunciation, that his organs are used to the sound both of Θ and of Δ, as when we say "that thistle." To a Frenchman neither is easy, but to learn both, and put each into its right place, extremely difficult.

The last class of mutes are K, Γ and X: the K we pronounce like the modern Greeks, and I doubt not correctly, though the particular directions of Dionysius are not quite so clear as in the two former classes. The Γ is pronounced by

the modern Greeks in the same manner as our G, but somewhat more gutturally. When however it is followed by E or I, they soften it, and make it a good deal like our Y, as γῆ, *ye*. Γ before K, Γ, or X, sounds like N, as ἐγγύς, *engus*; ἄγγελος, *anghelos*. The modern Greeks strictly follow Dionysius in pronouncing the X with an aspiration. Why we entirely neglect this distinction, while we preserve it in the Θ and Φ, seems unaccountable. Nothing can be more agreeable than the soft and full aspiration which a Greek gives to this letter; nor will an ear, which has once heard χάρις and ψυχὴ pronounced as they ought to be, ever endure without pain κάρις and ψυκὴ, though from the lips of a Professor.

In the classification of the mutes in the Eton Greek Grammar, the Π Β Φ are properly called "cognate" letters: it would have been better to explain the manner in which they are related, namely by the similarity of the disposition of the organs in pronouncing them. Kühner calls Π, Β, Φ, *lippenlaute* (lip-sounds), Κ, Γ, Χ, *kehllaute* (throat-sounds), Τ, Δ, Θ, *zungenlaute* (tongue-sounds), *Gr. Gram.* p. 19. How much more precise would our notions have been, had we compounded our Saxon words in the same manner, instead of talking of labials and gutturals!

Though the modern Greeks preserve the aspirate in the Φ, Χ, Θ, they neglect it in words beginning with a vowel, or with the consonant P.

That in this respect they deviate from the pronunciation of the well-educated portion of their ancestors cannot be doubted. The initial aspirate was originally marked by the letter H, afterwards by the half of that letter F, and lastly by the inverted comma '. For what purpose could these marks have been introduced into their inscriptions and manuscripts unless they were sounded? Or why should the final consonant be always turned into an aspirate before these words, as *ποθ' ὦρα* for *ποτε ὦρα*, unless the following vowel were aspirated? It may indeed be inferred from the manner in which the modern Greeks pronounce the Φ and the X, that their pronunciation of the initial aspirate was softer than ours; but still it must have been distinguishable: and the omission of it would perhaps have offended their ears, as much as it does ours in our own language.

CHAPTER III.

1. ACCENTS.—2. DR. FOSTER'S WORK.—3. DEFINITION OF ACCENT.—4. ACCENTUAL MARKS.—5. PASSAGE SELECTED AS A GUIDE FOR THE VOICE IN READING.—6. ACCENTS OF MONOSYLLABLES.—7. OXYTONES.—8. DISYLLABLES.—9. TRISYLLABLES.

ACCENTS.

1. I PROPOSE in the next place to treat of the accents of the Greek language.

DR. FOSTER'S WORK.

2. It may perhaps seem superfluous to add anything on this subject, after the admirable essay of Dr. Foster, entitled "An Essay on the different nature of Accent and Quantity, with their Use and Application in the English, Latin and Greek languages. By John Foster, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge." I quote from the third edition, octavo, London, 1820. The scholar who has studied that essay with attention, will not find much new information in the following pages ; I have, in pursuance of the plan which I marked out for myself at the outset of the inquiry, selected from the authors whom he cites, those who were born before the third

century, and I believe that this exclusion of the later writers will clear the subject from many of its difficulties to those scholars who have not time to pursue a more elaborate inquiry. And even to those who wish to continue the study of the pronunciation of the Greek language down to the present time, it may not be amiss to divide the inquiry into two periods, the former of undoubted purity, and the latter of extensive corruption in literature and taste, and, as some think, in pronunciation also.

I so entirely agree with Dr. Foster's theory of Greek accents, and have been so struck with the happy manner in which he has illustrated it, that I have often found myself constrained to use his words instead of adopting less apt expressions of my own. The reader at least will have no reason to complain; and I, after this general acknowledgment of my obligations to Dr. Foster, shall not think it necessary to quote him on every occasion in which I repeat his opinions. That I have not followed him blindly will appear from my not agreeing with him on the subject of English accents.

DEFINITION OF ACCENT.

3. Much of the perplexity which has attended this inquiry, has arisen from the writers on it either not defining the term "accent," or not adhering to their definition. They often apply the term indiscriminately to the marks which we

find over the words in Greek manuscripts, and to the exertion of the voice in heightening syllables. As an instance of the confusion which this want of precision may occasion, some writers have spoken of accent as a comparatively modern invention: now it is true that the use of accentual marks is a comparatively modern invention; but to say that the use of accents is a modern invention, is to say that Plato and Demosthenes spoke in one unvarying note, and that it was reserved for a grammarian of Alexandria to teach the Greeks to improve the modulation of their tongue by heightening some syllables and depressing others. The reader is therefore apprised that wherever the term “accent” shall occur in the following pages, it is not intended to express a written mark, but an operation of the human voice; and when the term occurs unaccompanied by an adjective, it is meant to express the exertion of the voice in raising a syllable. Nor will the subject be found either abstruse in its nature, or doubtful in its evidence, to one who shall begin by settling in his own mind what he means by the term “accent,” and who can preserve that meaning unconfused throughout the inquiry.

ACCENTUAL MARKS.

4. We find in the greater part of the Greek manuscripts, and in almost all Greek books, the following signs, (´), (˘), and (ˊ) ; each word, with a few exceptions, having one of the signs over it. These signs are usually called “accents,” but, to avoid the confusion which has been above adverted to, it will be better to term them “accentual marks.” That these marks were originally intended as a guide to the voice in laying the accent, that is, heightening the syllables, may be shown by such proofs as can leave little doubt in the mind. They could not have been, like the Hebrew points, an essential part of the syllables themselves, because we have, without them, both vowels and consonants sufficient to form each syllable. It seems clear, that whenever invented, they did not come into general use till long after the Christian era. Now the date of their prevalence serves to throw light upon their object. By that time Grecian literature had extended itself over many countries where Greek was not the vernacular language. To a Latin or an Arabian student, it would be highly useful to have some guide in laying the accent properly ; though to the Greek, who had learned the accents in his infancy, any such guide would be superfluous. That they were intended as musical marks, as some have asserted, might have had some degree of probability if we found them exclusively over

poetical works ; but that any one would have wasted his time in affixing musical marks to histories, grammars and lexicons, seems in the highest degree improbable ; to say nothing of the same mark always recurring over the same word with an uniformity utterly inconsistent with the variety of cadence which we should expect to find in music. The conjecture, that they were intended to point out the quantity, does not seem at all more likely : because we see two of the three marks placed indifferently over long and short syllables ; and besides, there are other marks, well known to grammarians, which do point out the quantity. The argument which the modern Greek would consider as the strongest of all, namely the tradition through many centuries of the object of the marks, and an actual pronunciation in accordance with them, is not here insisted on ; because to us in England that tradition and that agreement have not come down. But laying this out of the question, any unprejudiced reader will allow, that till some other theory shall be supported by probable evidence, we are warranted in assuming that these marks were intended to serve as guides in laying the accent. Nor will there perhaps be much difficulty in inducing English readers to assent to this proposition ; most of us being persuaded that the marks were originally invented for the purpose of pointing out where the accent ought to be laid ; but refusing to regulate our pronun-

ciation by them, from a conviction that they have been misplaced by ignorance, inattention, or corruption : just as a man would disregard a clock, not from doubting whether the clock had been invented to mark time, but from a persuasion that it no longer marked the time rightly. Assuming then that these accentual marks were intended to point out the syllables on which the accent ought to be laid, the question is, whether they are rightly placed, and whether our pronunciation, in order to be correct, ought to be regulated by them. But before proceeding to this inquiry, I will shortly consider the origin of the invention of marks, their different kinds, and what effect each mark, supposing it placed rightly, ought to have upon our pronunciation of the syllable over which it stands.

Montfauçon gives it as his opinion, that the accentual marks were invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium, who was librarian of the Alexandrian library about two centuries before Christ. (*Palæograph.* lib. i. c. 4.) Others have contended, and with great probability, that the invention must have been earlier. Perhaps Aristophanes first brought the invention of the marks into general notice. The invention, though useful, had nothing in it striking or captivating. To the native Greek, who had learned the proper accent in his infancy, any means of pointing out where it should be laid would be quite superfluous ; and scarcely less so to a foreigner, who

had learned the language by long and constant communication with Greek teachers. We may therefore readily suppose that it would be some time before the invention became widely diffused, and that it would be sooner applied to treatises on pronunciation or grammar than to works of general literature. Now the facts, as far as we can ascertain them, exactly agree with these probabilities: few manuscripts with accentual marks bear a higher date than the seventh century, and the earliest works which bear them are generally works of grammarians.

“ Verum hæc omnia ante septimum sæculum a librariis neglecta prorsus videntur: nam codices vetustissimi quinti sextive sæculi iis prorsus carent: quæ ante septimum sæculum, in solis grammaticorum libris observata fuisse videntur.” (*Montfauçon, Palæograph. lib. i. c. 4.*) So that the absence of the marks from ancient coins and marbles and from the earliest manuscripts, which has been urged by some writers as a reason for distrusting the marks, is a strong proof of their truth, as it shows that this invention, like all others, began to be most used when it was most wanted. But though the marks came not into general use till the seventh century, there seems little reason to doubt that they were invented at a much earlier period. The marks at the commencement of the Alexandrian manuscript in the British Museum, if placed there by the same hand which wrote the manuscript, are of the

fourth century. They certainly seem to be in the same ink as the manuscript, and it looks as if the writer had begun the work with marks, but soon abandoned them as an unnecessary labour.

Economus, who has written a treatise on Greek pronunciation in modern Greek, published at Petersburg in 1830, informs us that there is a manuscript of Dioscorides in the imperial library at Vienna, with marks, which could not have been later than the middle of the fifth century, as it is dedicated to Augusta Julia, daughter of Olybrius, who was Emperor of the West A.D. 472. It may not be uninteresting to give the passage as a specimen of the modern Greek :—

Τόνους ἔχει παρομοίως καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αὐτοκρατορικὴν βιβλιοθήκην τῆς Βιέννης διασημότατον ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Διοσκορίδου, γεγραμμένον περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς πεμπτῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδος, ὡς συμπεραίνεται ἀσφαλῶς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ προσφώνησιν πρὸς τὴν Αὐγούσταν Ιουλίαν θυγατέρα μητρὸς μὲν Πλακιδίας, ἐγγόνης Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ, πατρὸς δὲ Ολυβρίου βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Δύσει τῷ 472 μ. χ. καὶ τίς οἶδεν ἂν τὸ ἀντίγραφον δὲν ἦτο πολὺ παλαιότερον κτῆμα τοῦ προσφωνήσαντος ;

The accentual marks are commonly described by grammarians as three in number, and as producing the following effects :—the acute, marked (´), which raises the syllable over which it is placed ; the grave (`), which depresses the syllable ; and the circumflex (˘), which sustains

and lengthens it. This definition of the effect of the acute mark is sufficiently accurate for our purpose; let any one pronounce the word *ré-venue* and then *revénue*, he will find that the syllable to which he assigns the accent is raised, that is, receives a higher note. “*Nam vox, ut nervi, quo remissior, hoc et gravior et plenior: quo tensior, hoc tenuis et acuta magis est. Sic ima vim non habet, summa rumpi periclitatur.*” (*Quinctil.* xi. 3, 42.) It will be necessary to say more on the definition of accent, and particularly the acute accent, in the consideration of the nature of quantity.

The above definition of the grave accent (') has caused no little perplexity; because it would lead us to suppose that every syllable over which we find the mark (') must be raised, and every syllable over which we find the mark (') must be depressed: whereas the truth is, that every syllable must be raised over which either of these marks is found; and the only syllables to be depressed are those over which there is no mark at all. I have not heard of any manuscript now extant in which every syllable is marked. I regret that some of these manuscripts, if such there have been, have not come down to us, because I feel persuaded that in them we should find the final acute marked with the ('), as *θεός ἡπιός ἐστι*. Probably few of such manuscripts have ever existed. It would soon occur to copyists that it is sufficient to mark the syllables which are to

be raised, and that to mark those which are to be depressed is an unnecessary labour. The mark ('), which would thus become useless when the grave accent ceased to be marked, appears to have been afterwards used to represent a final acute, and is never applied to a syllable which is in pronunciation to be depressed; so that I am warranted by the whole body of manuscripts and by all the books which have followed them in laying down the proposition, that the grave accent has now no mark. Nor can I claim any originality for this theory. Simon tells us that many German critics thought that the grave accent ought to be entirely discarded (*eliminatum*), and that the mark (') on final syllables is rather to be considered as the inverse acute, which might with more propriety be called the final acute; and he adds, that he thinks the proposition reasonable. (*Simon, Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Ling. Græc.* ii. s. 24.)

The mark of the grave being thus discarded altogether, the rule is, that the mark of the acute is a stroke from right to left ('), except on the last syllable of a word, when it is made from left to right ('). The reason of the distinction is obvious, that if the last syllable were marked (') it would be mistaken for the effect of an enclitic. More will be said of enclitics hereafter. Here it is enough to point out, that when we say *δός μοι*, we virtually pronounce these two words as one; *δόσμοι*, as *gíveme* in English and *dátemi* in Ita-

lian. Whenever, therefore, the last syllable of a word is marked (') we perceive that there is to be no pause, but that we must continue the breath and pronounce the succeeding word as if it formed part of the preceding. When, however, a syllable to be raised stands at the end of a sentence, it cannot be mistaken for an enclitic, and accordingly is marked in the usual manner ('); so that the acute accent is marked either (') or ('), according to the rules above-mentioned, and the grave is never marked at all, being in truth only the absence of accent, and being understood to apply to every syllable over which there is no mark. A great part of the difficulty of understanding this otherwise simple subject is caused by a confusion between the grave accent, that is, depression of a syllable in speaking, and the mark ('), which is never now used but to express an acute accent. It is for want of attending to this simple variation in the manner of making the mark, that scholars have supposed that a word is to be pronounced in a different manner when at the end and when in the middle of a sentence. Dr. Gally assumes this, and urges it as a ground for rejecting the marks altogether.

“An oxytone becometh a barytone in a continued discourse, except in the case of enclitics; and the acute accent, when so changed, doth not seem to be either a proper acute or a proper grave.” (*A Dissertation against Pronouncing the*

Greek Language according to Accents, p. 49.) This author has not affixed his name to the book; Dr. Foster notices it as a treatise of Dr. G., but I believe it is generally understood to have been written by the Reverend Dr. Gally, Prebendary of Gloucester and Norwich, a scholar of considerable attainments. Dr. Gally further says: "The making oxytones become barytones in such a manner that they are not to be pronounced either as oxytones or barytones, is really monstrous. But besides this, it is a great absurdity, and contrary to the nature of all languages, that the same word, when pronounced separately, should be subject to a different modulation from what it must have when it makes part of a continued discourse." (p. 51.) The answer is, that the Greek language is chargeable with no such absurdity, the accent of an oxytone word when pronounced separately and when part of a continued discourse being precisely the same, though expressed in the latter case, to avoid confusion with an enclitic, in a different manner. The Eton Greek Grammar is not free from this confusion of the mark (') with the depression of a syllable in speaking: it states, in one sentence, that the grave is only marked on the last syllable, but is understood in every syllable where there is no accent: "Gravis tantum in ultima signatur, sed in omni syllaba intelligitur, in qua nullus est accentus." This would lead one to suppose, that the grave which is

marked on the last syllable, and the grave which is understood in other syllables are the same; and that, being the same, they must produce the same effect. But the mark (') over the last syllable is the sign of the acute accent, and raises that syllable: whereas the grave accent, which is understood to apply to a syllable over which there is no mark, depresses that syllable. The correct way of stating the rule would be thus: "Gravis nunquam signatur, sed in omni syllaba, cui deest signum, intelligitur." It has been supposed by some, that syllables so marked, though depressed in the middle of a sentence, were raised at the end of a sentence, to prevent the sound being lost by the sinking of the voice. But if such were the rule, why confine it to these particular words? why not apply it to every final syllable? That the mark (') must stand for an acute may be further shown from the testimony of Cicero and Dionysius, which will be cited hereafter, that every word has an acute accent. Where then is the acute in the word *θεός* in the middle of a sentence? Not on the first syllable, because that, not being marked, must be understood to be grave; not on the second, if we consider the (') to stand for a grave; so that the word would be without an acute, which is impossible.

The effect of the circumflex is not so easily defined. To say that it sustains or makes long the syllable affected by it, is to give a very im-

perfect account of it; because, though all circumflexed syllables are long, all long syllables are not circumflexed. Quintilian says expressly, that a circumflexed syllable and an acute are the same: "Præterea nunquam in eadem flexa et acuta, quoniam eadem flexa et acuta." (i. 5, 31.) Apollonius, with greater precision, says that they are the same in power though not in nature: Προηυθέτισται γὰρ τὰ ἐγκλιτικὰ μόρια ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχειν τὴν ὀξεῖαν, ἣ φύσει, ἣ δυνάμει· λέγω δὲ, δυνάμει, διὰ τὰ περισπώμενα. (*Syntax*, ii. 18. p. 138.)

There is another passage of the same author, which at first sight strikes us as being in direct contradiction to this. In speaking of the accentuation of interrogative adverbs he says: Τὰ πύσματα ἣ φύσει θέλει βαρύνεσθαι, ἣ δυνάμει· τὰ γοῦν ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν, ἔχοντα τόπον τῆς βαρείας, πάντα βαρύνεται· τὰ δὲ μονοσύλλαβα, οὐ δυνάμενα ἐκτὸς τῆς ὀξείας γένεσθαι, δυνάμει ἐβαρύνθη περισπασθέντα. (*De Adverb.*, Bekker, *Anecd. Græc.* p. 584.)

The solution of the apparent inconsistency must be sought in the peculiar nature of the circumflex accent, which was compounded of an acute and a grave: Αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὀξεῖ τὸ βαρὺ, ἃς δὲ καὶ περισπώμενας καλοῦμεν. (*Dionys.* xi. 76.)

It appears that the voice was first raised to the pitch of an acute, and then, before passing on to the next syllable, was dropped to a grave. This is sometimes explained by saying, that the sound was repeated twice, first with an acute and then

with a grave, *σῶμα* for instance was pronounced *σόμα*. This explanation is probably very near the mark, but still we must remember that these two sounds were blended into one syllable : *σῶμα*, *σώματος*, and *ῥόος* were doubtless all differently pronounced. At any rate, however, it is clear that the syllables having the circumflex mark were raised, and we may therefore apply the term accent to them, as well as to those having the mark of the acute.

INSTANCE SELECTED AS A GUIDE FOR THE VOICE IN
READING.

5. Having thus pointed out the distinction between accents and accentual marks, and having endeavoured to give an accurate definition of each, I now proceed to the question whether our pronunciation ought to be guided by the marks ; that is, whether we ought, in speaking, to raise those syllables, and those only, over which we observe a mark. It may be asked, to what manuscript or to what book I would refer as the standard of the accuracy of the marks ? and in answer to that question, the reader's attention may be called to the striking agreement in all the manuscripts and books in their general manner of placing the marks. It would indeed be absurd to contend that particular exceptions do not occur ; copyists must have varied in carefulness as well as in knowledge ; blunders must have been made in the accentual marks as well as in the order

and orthography of the words ; but the general manner of placing the marks shows such an agreement between the different writers as could not possibly have resulted from accident. The deviations from this general manner have not been sufficiently numerous to throw any doubt or uncertainty over the system ; but every critic who has studied it feels himself justified in saying that such and such words in a manuscript are wrongly marked, with as much confidence as he would say, that such and such words are wrongly spelt ; appealing for the correctness of his criticism to an overwhelming majority of other manuscripts. And accordingly those who rely on the accuracy of the marks have usually contented themselves with contending in general, that our pronunciation ought to be guided by them wherever we find them. It has however occurred to me, that it may be better to refer to a particular passage of a given manuscript or book ; first, for the sake of greater precision as to the very words to which our rules are to be applied ; and secondly, because, by counting the number of marks in a passage of limited extent, we are enabled to show exactly the proportions in which the rules which we assume are observed or violated, and to reduce both rules and exceptions to arithmetical statement. I have selected for this purpose three of Dr. Charles Burney's manuscripts of the New Testament, in the British Museum. The passage fixed on was the first

chapter of St. Luke's Gospel to the end of the twentieth verse. The manuscripts selected are the following : No. 20 of the Burneian collection in the British Museum, written by Theophilus in 1285 ; No. 21 of the same collection, written in the year 1292 by Theodorus ; No. 18 of the same, written in 1366 by Joasaph. I have chosen these manuscripts on account of their bearing the exact dates at which they were written. The marks in them have the appearance of being written at the same time with the words, and I think it may be fairly assumed that they were so. With respect to some of the more ancient manuscripts, this point might not perhaps be so easily conceded. When we find only one manuscript marked out of many, we may doubt whether it may not owe its marks to the accident of its having fallen into the hands of some one, who marked it in a later age : but as it is universally agreed that the use of the marks had become very general before the thirteenth century, there is little probability that a copier would allow a manuscript unmarked to go out of his hands ; and I should think, in general, a writer who had made up his mind that the manuscript should be marked, would mark the words as fast as he wrote them.

The following is a copy of the first twenty verses of the first chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel, as they stand in the manuscript of Theophilus ; I have divided the text into verses for the con-

venience of reference, though it is not so divided in the original. I have also enclosed in brackets, thus [καθώς], many words which are illegible in No. 21.

Ver. 1. Επειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων· v. 2. [καθὼς] παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' [ἀρχῆς] αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, v. 3. ἔδοξε καί μοι παρηκολουθηκότες ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς, καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι κράτιστε θεόφιλε· v. 4. ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων, τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· v. 5. ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς ἰουδαίας, ἱερεὺς τις ὀνόματι ζαχαρίας· ἔξ ἑφημερίας ἀβιά· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων ἀαρῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς, Ελισάβετ· v. 6. ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφοτέροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θυ· πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιομασι τοῦ κύ· ἄμεμπτοι· v. 7. καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τέκνον· καθότι ἡ Ελισάβετ ἦν στείρα, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι, προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν· v. 8. [ἐγένετο] δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν [τῇ] τάξει τῆς ἑφημερίας αὐτοῦ, ἔξεναντι [θυ· v. 9. κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς] ἱερατείας, ἔλαχε τοῦ [θυμιᾶσαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κύ· v. 10. καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ] προσευχόμενον ἕξω [τῇ ὥρᾳ] τοῦ θυμιάματος· v. 11. ὦθη [δὲ αὐτῷ] ἄγγελος κύ, ἑστὼς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ θυμιάματος· v. 12. καὶ ἐταράχθη ζαχαρίας ἰδὼν· καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν· v. 13. εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος· μὴ φοβοῦ ζαχαρία· διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου ἐλίσάβετ γεννήσει υἱόν σοι· καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἰώ· v. 14. καὶ ἔσται χαρὰ σοι καὶ ἀγαλλίασις· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται· v. 15. ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κύ· καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ μὴ^η πῖν· καὶ πᾶν^ς ἁγίου πλησθήσεται ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μη^ς αὐτοῦ· v. 16. καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν ἰὴλ ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ κύ τὸν θ' ἐν αὐτῷ· v. 17. καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνί καὶ δυνάμει ἡλίου, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδιάς πρῶν, ἐπὶ τέκνα· καὶ [ἀπειθεῖς,] ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων· [ἐτοιμάσαι κώ· λαὸν] κατασκευασμένον· v. 18. [Καὶ εἶπε ζαχαρίας πρὸς] τὸν ἄγγελ· κατὰ τί γνώσομαι [τοῦτο· ἐγὼ] γάρ εἰμι πρεσβύτης· καὶ ἡ γυνή μου προβεβηκυῖα ἐν ταῖς

word $\mu\eta$ has the ordinary single mark in two other instances in this manuscript, as it has here in No. 21.

V. 17. $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$: No. 18 has $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\acute{\upsilon}$. V. 19. $\pi\rho\delta\epsilon$: No. 18 has $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$. Both these differences, as we have seen in the word $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\alpha$, are to be referred to the punctuation. The twenty verses in the manuscript of Theophilus contain, after deducting the abbreviated words, two hundred and eighty-one accentual marks. From these must be deducted thirty-three, being the number of corresponding marks which are illegible in No. 21; of the remaining two hundred and forty-eight marks, eleven are different in one or both of the other two manuscripts, leaving two hundred and thirty-seven marks, being rather more than eleven-twelfths, in which the three manuscripts agree.

Of the eleven discrepancies, one is occasioned by the omission of an enclitic: in four the writers agree that the accent ought to be the acute, but they disagree as to their manner of marking it; in four others they agree that the syllable ought to be raised, but they disagree as to the particular inflexion of voice in so raising it: one is occasioned by a double acute, which, for whatever purpose introduced, shows at any rate that the syllable is to be raised; and the only word in which we could possibly be left in doubt, as to the syllable which ought to be raised, would be $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$; and here we are enabled to speak

with confidence, that the mark in the manuscript of Joasaph is wrongly placed, and to appeal for the truth of our criticism to the context and to the other two manuscripts. So that the discrepancies in the three manuscripts, which are only just sufficient to prove that they could not have been copied from any one other manuscript of an earlier date, warrant us in concluding that the writers of them were all guided by the same system. They vary in correctness, that of Joasaph bearing more mistakes than either of the others ; but still the mistakes are not sufficient to throw any doubt upon the system. I feel confident that a more laborious collation of manuscripts would only strengthen the evidence of this agreement ; and I am led to think so by the agreement which I observe in the accentual marks of books printed in widely different places. On comparing the manuscript of Theophilus with an edition of the Greek Testament, printed at Oxford with Baskerville's types in quarto, in 1763, I find the following differences :—

MANUSCRIPT.	BASK. EDIT.
v. 5.—ἀβιά	Ἀβιά
ἀαρών	Ἀαρών,
v. 9.—θυμιάσαι	θυμιάσαι
v. 11.—δεξιῶν	δεξιῶν
v. 12.—αὐτόν	αὐτόν.
v. 15.—μή	μή
v. 17.—ἀπειθείς	ἀπειθείς
v. 19.—πρὸς σέ	πρὸς σε.

leaving two hundred and seventy-three marks in which the book agrees with the manuscript. A comparison with the beautiful edition of Griesbach, printed at Leipsic in 1803, gives the same result, the marks in the Leipsic edition agreeing exactly with the Oxford.

I have chosen the two editions, not from finding in them a closer agreement than in others, but because they were printed in widely distant places, and each with so great attention to the beauty of the type, as makes it probable that the accentual marks are generally correct. And I have no question that the more editions we consult, the more shall we be impressed with their general agreement in this particular. And this agreement will naturally lead to the conclusion that the manuscripts from which these various editions have been prepared, notwithstanding their occasional inaccuracies, must have exhibited the same general agreement in their accentual marks which we have observed in the three manuscripts to which our more particular attention has been called. If it be said that the editors of these various books have placed the marks according to certain rules, this only shows that the agreement of manuscripts has been so complete, as to enable grammarians to form from them a consistent code, by which any word in the language may be marked. Neither does it weaken the argument, that the greater part of the editors who have adopted these marks have

themselves used and taught a system of pronunciation not consistent with them ; but, on the contrary, we may infer, that it must have been a general consent of manuscripts which constrained them to perpetuate a system which they were neither willing to follow nor able to confute.

They who are convinced that the marks ought to be followed in pronunciation, will consider Greek literature as much indebted to the editors who have taken, from whatever motives, so much pains to preserve them. Porson often adverts to the importance of the marks in distinguishing two words which are written with the same letters. Some may have retained them from a persuasion that they have been really guides for the true pronunciation, and might be so again. On the other hand, some considerable scholars have edited books without marks. Dr. Foster's attention was first called to the subject by observing a congratulatory ode from Oxford so printed. Simon tells us that the writings of Henninius and Major had the effect of inducing many editors in Germany, and particularly in Lower Saxony, to omit the marks. (*Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Græcam*, ii. 22.) Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica* has been published both here and in Germany without marks. The new edition of Morell's *Thesaurus*, by the Bishop of Durham, has only the mark of the circumflex. And in truth, if we consider it certain that Greek ought

to be pronounced without reference to the marks, it must be owned that it is a pedantic and unprofitable task to write the marks at all, and still more to consult manuscripts and study works of grammarians as to the syllables over which they ought to stand. A mechanic who should spend his day in making a knife which is not to cut, or a gun which is not to go off, or a wheel which is never to go round, would not be more unprofitably employed than a critic engaged in the due disposition of marks, not one of which is to be of use in pronunciation. As to the use of them in distinguishing words which are written alike, these are few, and there can be no need to encumber with marks all the rest of the book : nay, the very fact of our observing a mark upon those words alone which require it, would better direct our minds towards their true meaning in those very few passages where it does not necessarily result from the context. The time too employed in teaching boys what we call Greek accents is, on the supposition of the inefficacy of the marks, entirely thrown away. Why employ them for hours in learning the rules for placing the marks ? and why refer them to Herodian and Apollonius the Crabbed for information, which, when procured, is utterly useless ? Why should Eustathius be consulted whether *ἐρημος* is to have an oblique stroke over the first syllable or a crooked stroke over the second, if in pronunciation the accent must be on the second syllable

because it is long? As well might we inquire whether Eustathius made a ρ with a straight tail or a crooked one. I cannot imagine a more grotesque waste of learning, than such pursuits under such a hypothesis: nor could there be an object over which the genius of pedantry would chuckle with truer mirth, than to see a boy, who was yesterday repeating the rule why *θάλασσα* is a proparoxytone, and is flogged to day for not calling it *θαλάσσα*.

I am in hopes that the method which I have adopted of stating a given passage of a given manuscript, for our guidance in reading aloud, so as to reduce the question to a matter of arithmetic, may not be without its use. Taking this passage of Saint Luke as evinced by the manuscripts, we may affirm, that if there be an uncertainty in the manner of fixing the marks, it is an uncertainty which would not mislead us more than once in two hundred and eighty times in pronouncing the Greek language. And I shall accordingly endeavour to show, that in reading the first chapter of Saint Luke to the end of the 20th verse, our accentuation ought to be guided by the marks as they appear in the manuscript of Theophilus; that is, that we ought, in reading that passage aloud, to raise those syllables, and those only, over which we observe a mark. And I am satisfied that if I can succeed in carrying the reader so far along with me, we shall not disagree as to the accentuation of any passage in any other prose author.

ACCENTS OF MONOSYLLABLES.

6. The accents of monosyllables leave little room for doubt or discussion. It may be stated as a general rule, that every word has an accent. Cicero says that nature has so ordained it :—
 “ Ipsa natura quasi modularetur hominum orationem, in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem, nec una plus, nec a postrema syllaba ultra tertiam.” (*Orat.* c. 18.) And yet there are in Greek some exceptions to this rule, and these somewhat arbitrary, seeing that the definite article, for instance, has an accent on the neuter, and not on the masculine or feminine. Bishop Horsley says “ that the words without an accent are fourteen in number.” (*On the Prosodies of the Greek and Latin Languages*: London, 1796, p. 6.) The Bishop has not affixed his name to the treatise, but it is, I believe, generally understood to have come from his pen. Kühner gives the following list of them :—

- a. Forms of the Article, ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ.
- b. οὐ (οὐκ, οὐχ).
- c. Prepositions, ἐν, εἰς (ἐς), ἐκ (ἐξ), ὡς.
- d. Conjunctions, ὡς, εἰ.

(*Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*: Hanover, 1834 ; vol. i. p. 68.)

There are some words, which, when standing at the beginning of a sentence, have an accent of their own, but which, in the middle of a sentence, incline or throw back their accent on the preceding syllable ; as in the sentence σοὶ ταῦτα

ἔγραψα, for thee have I written these things, σοὶ has an accent: but in ἔδοξεν ἐμοὶ καθεξῆς σοὶ γράψαι, σοὶ throws back its accent on the previous syllable. These words are called enclitics; and it happens in all languages, that the same word, when put prominently forward with a stress laid on it, shall have an accent, and when occurring in the ordinary course of a sentence shall have none: "Yoú are the person for whom this was written:" and, on the other hand, "I thought it proper to write you an account of it." In this latter case the enclitic word becomes virtually embodied in the word preceding it; and in the same way the unaccented words, particularly the prepositions, are incorporated with the succeeding word: "Cùm dico, 'circum littora,' tanquam unum enuntio, dissimulata distinctione: itaque tanquam in una voce, una est acuta." (*Quinctil.* i. 5, 27.): so that there would perhaps be no impropriety in saying of these words that they throw the accent forward, as the enclitics throw it back; and Kühner seems to entertain this view by calling them Proklitica or Atona. And accordingly these words, when at the end of a sentence, or placed after the word they govern, have an accent: as

πληθύνος ἔκ Δαναῶν,
πῶς γὰρ οὗ;

We find that every word in the manuscript of Theophilus, with the exceptions pointed out by Kühner, has a mark: τῶν and καὶ are therefore

to be raised ; the distinction between the two sounds, whatever it was, being no longer within our reach.

OXYTONES.

7. Having thus briefly mentioned the accentuation of the monosyllables, upon which little question arises, I come to words of more than one syllable. Many of these having the mark on the last syllable (as πολλοὶ), I shall endeavour to show that we ought to obey the mark, and that in reading πολλοὶ, we ought accordingly to raise the second syllable and not the first : for we have already seen that this mark, though made from left to right, stands for the acute accent, and shows that the last syllable ought to be raised, or, in the ordinary language of grammarians, that πολλοὶ is an oxytone. The pronunciation taught in the English schools and universities is directly contrary ; we lay the accent on the first syllable, and make the word πόλλοι ; in short, our pronunciation of Greek is entirely barytone, as, with the exception of monosyllables, where we have no choice, we never lay the accent on a final syllable at all. Why is this ? Why, for instance, when we find a mark on the final syllable of θεῶς, do we refuse to regulate our pronunciation by it ? the only reason that I am aware of is, that in Latin Déus is a barytone, and that θεός ought to be pronounced in the same manner. Now that we are right in our pronunciation of Déus, we have an

authority which no scholar can dispute, namely that of Quintilian himself, who says that Latin words terminate in a grave accent, and that invariably; but we learn from the same author in the same page, that the Greek accentuation was different. In comparing the two languages in respect to sweetness of modulation, after giving several instances of particular letters in which the Greek had the advantage, he proceeds to observe, that the Latin accents are less sweet, not only from a certain harshness, but also from their very monotony; their last syllable never having an acute nor a circumflex, but terminating invariably in a grave. For this reason he says, that the Greek language is so much more agreeable than the Latin, that the Latin poets, when they wish a verse to be sweet in sound, ornament it with Greek nouns: “Sed accentus quoque, cum rigore quodam, tum similitudine ipsa minus suaves habemus, quia ultima syllaba nec acuta unquam excitatur, nec flexa circumducitur, sed in gravem vel duas graves cadit semper. Itaque tanto est sermo Græcus Latino jucundior, ut nostri poetæ, quoties dulce carmen esse vulerunt, illorum id nominibus exornent.” (xii. 10, 33.) It is difficult to conceive what authority can be set against this passage of Quintilian, which affords the clearest demonstration that our accentuation of Greek is faulty, for this very reason, that it is the same as that of the Latin; and that it is faulty in this very particular, that

it always makes Greek words barytones. For though Quintilian does not in so many words predicate that many Greek words are oxytones, that proposition is as clearly implied, in the whole passage taken together, as if it were expressly affirmed. Dr. Gally indeed ventures to assert, that Quintilian is mistaken in this matter, and that there was not in truth any difference in respect of accents between the Latin and the Greek. Now however specious a modern scholar's reasoning on this subject might have appeared, I should have been very unwilling to trust it on such a subject against a critic and grammarian who constantly heard both Greek and Latin as living languages; and I should have been apt rather to suspect some fallacy in Dr. Gally, though I might not have been able to point out where it lay, than a gross blunder in Quintilian. But when we come to examine Dr. Gally's reasons, we shall find them built upon two palpable mistakes: he says, "This passage hath considerable difficulties. It would not be an easy matter to say what Quintilian meant by a similitude of accents, if he had proceeded no farther. But he hath explained himself by saying, that the Greeks placed the acute and circumflex upon the last syllable, which the Latins never did, and that upon this account the Latin accents were not so sweet as the Greek. One cannot indeed refuse to Quintilian the privilege of being his own interpreter. But then as the Latins

had the same number of accents with the Greeks, it cannot easily be conceived how a difference, arising from the mere placing of accents as to one syllable only, could cause a difference in the sweetness of them ; and such a difference too as would in this respect give a considerable advantage and superiority to the Greek language ; unless it can be proved that the placing of accents on final syllables is more harmonious than the placing them on penultimates and antepenultimates.

“ But what is more material, if this point be accurately considered, no such difference between the Latin and Greek accents will be found as Quinctilian suggests. For the circumflex containeth an acute and a grave : therefore, when it is placed upon the last syllable of a Greek word, and resolved into its constituent parts, the pronunciation of this word will end in a grave. And though an accent be placed upon the last syllable of a Greek word, yet this is to take place only when the word is pronounced separately. For in discourse the final acute is always turned into, and pronounced as, a grave. Where then is the real difference, in this respect, between the Latin and Greek accentuation ? What foundation does this afford to blame the Latin manner as less harmonious and diversified than the Greek ?

“ Quinctilian appears still more prejudiced in favour of the Greeks, by what he says at the

close of this passage. For what Latin poets have, in order to make their compositions more harmonious, made use of Greek words, merely because they were accented upon the last syllable?" (*Second Dissertation against Greek Accents*, p. 36.)

This is a fair specimen of the contradictions into which a correct and elegant scholar is forced by allowing the prejudices of his ear to control his judgement. The difficulties which Dr. Gally finds in the passage are all of his own creation. It is true that the Latins had the same number of accents with the Greeks, but the question here is not as to the number of the accents, but the application of them ; and if in one language the accent be admitted in three places, while the other admits it only in two, it seems to be easy to conceive how this could cause a difference in the sweetness of them ; and particularly when we learn from a person of taste who had heard both, that he found such a difference. Neither is it necessary to say, that the placing of accents on final syllables is more harmonious than the placing them on penultimates and antepenultimates. If the Greeks had made every word an oxytone, this would have been a monotony still more rigid, and doubtless more inharmonious than that of the Latins. No: the harmony of the Greeks consisted in this,—not that they placed the accent on final syllables, but that they did not exclude it from final syllables, and that by giving

it three places instead of two, they imparted a pleasing variety to the modulation of their language. But Dr. Gally not only doubts Quinctilian's taste, but discredits his testimony. He roundly asserts that no such difference between the Latin and Greek accents will be found as Quinctilian suggests. In the case of a circumflex, it seems that the Greek is the same as the Latin, because a circumflexed syllable ends in a grave. But Dr. Gally here has confounded a grave sound with a grave syllable. It is true that a circumflex contained two sounds, one of which, and probably the latter, was grave; but this grave was so blended (*συνεφθαρμένη*) with the acute, as to produce a peculiar sound, which required a name of its own to describe it, and must have been perfectly distinct from the simple depressed sound of a grave syllable, or Quinctilian would not have said, as he has [p. 91], that the acute and the circumflex are the same. To express the difference at once by an instance: the last syllable of *Θεῶ* is raised, but the last of *Déo* is depressed.

As to what Dr. Gally says of the final acute of an oxytone word being in discourse turned into, and pronounced as, a grave, this has already been shown to be a mere misconception, arising from the inclination of the mark. And this passage of Quinctilian, instead of being refuted by Dr. Gally's reasoning, seems to be a strong additional authority for raising all those

final syllables on which we find a mark, whether written in one way or in the other. But sooner than admit that Quinctilian knew anything of the matter, we must discredit not only his ears, but his eyes also. When he said that Latin poets inserted Greek nouns into their verses, he must be understood to be speaking of what he himself had seen, and what his readers must have known as well as himself. But it seems he was mistaken. "For what Latin poets," asks Dr. Gally, "have, in order to make their compositions more harmonious, made use of Greek words, merely because they were accented upon the last syllable?" I answer, all who have come down to us, and probably many who have not. It is true we do not usually find these words written in Greek characters, but the Greek form has been studiously preserved, and doubtless for the reason given by Quinctilian. Whether the oxytonic endearments, ζῶν καὶ ψυχῇ, which Juvenal ridicules, owed any charms to their accent, I will not venture to decide; but I would, on this subject, take the testimony of a Roman lady, if I could get it, before that of the most learned divine that ever filled a stall at Gloucester or Norwich.

Whether Quinctilian's account of the Greek accents is to be understood of all the dialects, or only of the Attic, which in his time had so prevailed as to have perhaps nearly superseded the others, it is not easy to say. Dr. Foster devotes

a chapter to show the strong analogy between the Latin and the Æolian dialect, which admitted fewer oxytones than the other dialects, often throwing back the accent from the final to the penultimate syllable, as ἔρσω for ἔρῳ. (chap. iv.) As my remarks are confined to the Attic, it is not necessary for me to enter on this field of inquiry.

But the authority of Quintilian stands not alone: indeed we cannot read any work of any grammarian without seeing that our barytone pronunciation in numberless instances is directly contrary to that of the Greeks themselves. The scholiast on Homer, *Il.* Γ. v. 1, on the accent of ἀντάρ, says that there is a dispute as to how it ought to be pronounced (προφέρεσθαι), and that some, as Callimachus, read it as an oxytone. Observe that I am not here relying on the opinion of the scholiast, as to the pronunciation of ἀντάρ, but I am giving him credit for knowing, either from a treatise of Callimachus, or an edition of Homer marked by Callimachus, how that grammarian pronounced the word. I say *pronounced*, for προφέρειν and προφορά always express oral pronunciation.

Apollonius has a disquisition extending over several pages, whether the preposition, when it comes after the noun, should have a different accent, as Ἰθάκην κατά κοιρανέουσι (*Syntax*, iv. 1, 2.), all which would be utter nonsense, if we suppose that these words were pronounced as

barytones, as they are by us, whether before or after the word which they govern. It is throughout assumed, that the ordinary accent of the prepositions is on the last syllable, and those whose opinion the Grammarian is combating, seem to have asserted, that this accent ought in no case to be changed for a barytone: Οὐ γὰρ, φασὶ, δεόντως τὰ τοῦ τόνου ἀμείβεται εἰς βαρεῖαν τάσιν, ἐπὰν τὰ τῆς συντάξεως ἐναλλαγῇ (p. 299). And in another treatise he says, that it is impossible for the preposition to be a barytone, except when placed after the word it governs: Καθότι ἀδύνατον πρόθεσιν βαρύνεσθαι, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἀναστρέφοιτο· οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς τὸν ἐπὶ ταύταις τόνον ἀναβιβάζουσιν. (*De Pronomine*, p. 93. ed. Bekker. Berolini, 1813.) He tells us also that ὁδαῖ and other similar words are oxytones: Συνεῖχε τὴν ὀξεῖαν τὸ Ξ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιρρήμασιν. (*Syntax*, iv. 12. p. 336.) So ἐμοὶ: Ἡ μὲν ἐμοὶ ὀξύνεται, ἡ δὲ ἐμοῦ περισπᾶται. (*De Pronomine*, p. 12.) Τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ περισπαθήσεται, ὅτι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸς ὀξύνεται. (*Ibid.* p. 99.) So ἐντός, ἐκτός, εἰκός (*De Adv. in Bekker. Anecd. Græc.*, p. 595); and ἰθύς, ἐγγύς (*Ibid.* p. 604); and εὐρύ, and ταχύ (*Ibid.* p. 614).

To show that adverbs in *ως* are derived from the genitive plural, of which they follow the accent, and not from the genitive singular, he gives πάντως as an instance: Τὸ παντὸς ὀξύνεται, ἡ δὲ πάντων γενικῇ βαρύνεται· ἔνθεν καὶ τὸ συνὸν ἐπιρῥημα συμβαρύνεται. (*Ib.* p. 581.) He says that no words are enclitic, except those which have the accent

on the last syllable, among which he mentions σφωέ, σφωίν, είμι, and φημί. (*Syntax*, ii. 18. p. 138.) Again, in pointing out the distinction between έστε, *ye are*, and έστε, *be ye*, he repeats the same doctrine : 'Οξύνεται μὲν τὸ ὀριστικὸν ἐν τῷ έσμέν καὶ έστε διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐγκλιτικά, οἷα οὐ σύνεστι βαρὺ τὸ τέλος· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς προστακτικοῖς ἀφίσταται ἡ ἐγκλισις, συναφίσταται καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τέλους ὀξεΐα, ἥτις αἰτία ἦν τῆς ἐγκλίσεως. (*Syntax*, iii. 27. p. 261.) This passage proves, if proof be needed, that the term ὀξύνεται, applied generally, means, having an acute on the last syllable.

Herodian, speaking of the distinction between participles and adjectives, says : Τί διαφέρουσιν αἱ μετοχαὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ; διαφέρουσιν, ὅτι ἰδίᾳ τονοῦνται αἱ μετοχαί, οἷον εἰσὶν εἰς Εἰς ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ βαρύνοντα· μετοχὴ δὲ πᾶσα ὀξύνεται· οἷον, το χαρίεις ὄνομα βαρύνεται, ἡ δὲ τιθεὶς μετοχὴ ὀξύνεται. (Παρεκβολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήματος. p. 213.) Διατὶ τὸ εἶπε, καὶ ἐλθὲ, καὶ εὐρὲ, ἀορίστου ὄντα δευτέρου, ὀξύνονται, τῶν ἄλλων βαρυνομένων ; ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἄλλα βραχεΐα παραλήγεται, ταῦτα δὲ μακρᾶ· ὥς οὖν διήλλαξε κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν, διήλλαξε καὶ περὶ τὴν τάσιν. (*Ibid.* p. 203.) Τὰ δὲ εἰς ΑΣ ὀξύτονα εἴτε θηλυκὰ εἴτε κοινὰ, καὶ τὰ εἰς ΑΣ οὐδέτερα συνεσταλμένον ἔχει το Α, οἷον ἡ τριάς, ἡ φυγάς, κέρας, κρέας· ἰμὰς δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάς εἰ καὶ ὀξύνονται, ὅμως ἀρσενικὰ ὄντα ἐκτείνονται. (*Draco de Metris*, ed. Hermann. Lips. 1812, p. 12.) Τὰ εἰς ΑΣ ὀξύτονα ὀνόματα δισύλλαβα διὰ τοῦ δοs κλινόμενα συστέλλεσθαι θέλει, οἷον, φυγάς, κ.τ.λ. (*Ibid.* p. 18.)

Athenæus, speaking of the proper accent of

λαγῶς, says: Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλόγως κατὰ τὴν τελευτῶσαν συλλαβὴν περισπωμένως προφέρονται· δεῖ δὲ ὀξύτονεῖν τὴν λέξιν. (ix. 52.) Here the only question was, whether the accent on the last syllable should be an acute or a circumflex; a clear proof that our barytone pronunciation λάγως is incorrect. The pronunciation, and not the mark, is here in question, as Athenæus does not say that they write it, but pronounce it, improperly: Λεπαστη. Οἱ μὲν ὀξύνουσι τὴν τελευταίαν, ὡς καλῇ· οἱ δὲ παροξύνουσιν, ὡς μεγάλη. (*Athenæus*, xi. p. 484.) Here the word καλῇ never would have been used as an instance, unless it had been notorious that it had the accent on the last syllable. So he remarks on the word φθοισι, that it ought to be an oxytone, like καρσί, παισί, φθειρσί, (xi. p. 502.) Ρυτὸν ἔχει τὸ Υ βραχὺ καὶ ὀξύνεται. (xi. p. 496.)

Herodian says that the verbs ending in Ω are barytones, to distinguish them from feminine nouns with the same termination, which are always oxytone: Τὰ γὰρ εἰς Ω λήγοντα θηλυκὰ ὀνόματα ὀξύνονται, οἶον, Κλειῶ, Καλυψῶ, Πειθῶ. (*Παρεκβολαί*, κ. τ. λ, p. 190.) Coupling this remark with the passage above cited from Quintilian, I feel almost as well assured, that Virgil, in reciting his own poem, pronounced *Theano* and *Celæno* as oxytones, as if I had heard him myself.

The example Καλυψῶ leads to an observation, that though the other instances hitherto given have been words of two syllables, yet many words

of more than two syllables in Greek, have the accent on the last. Plutarch, in his *Lives of the Ten Orators*, relates that Demosthenes early in life introduced some pedantic and unusual modes of pronouncing particular words, which never failed to call forth the disapprobation of his audience: *Ωμνυε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν, προπαροξύνων Ἀσκληπιον, καὶ παρεδείκνυεν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγοντα· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἥπιον· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλάκις ἐθορυβήθη.* (vol. iv. p. 391. ed. Wyttenbach.) What was the meaning of this disturbance, if all the Greeks laid the accent on the antepenultimate of *Ἀσκληπιος*? Dr. Gally cannot imagine that Demosthenes, who had been born and bred up in Athens, could be faulty in his accent. (*Dissertation against Greek Accents*, p. 127.) But his fault was not ignorance, but pedantry. He forgot that in these things usage must be paramount. John Kemble always made *aches* a disyllable in the verse of Shakspeare's 'Tempest,' "fill all thy bones with aches," and no doubt correctly, but as he could never persuade his audience to think so, ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλάκις ἐθορυβήθη.

Ὁ λέγων περισπωμένως εὐγενής, τὸ μὲν σημαινόμενον φυλάττει, πταίει δὲ κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν, περισπωμένῳ χρώμενος ἀντὶ ὀξείας. (*Herodian*, Περὶ Βαρβαρισμοῦ καὶ Σολοικισμοῦ, printed at the end of Valckenaer's *Ammonius*, Lugd. Bat. 1739.) Valckenaer does not affix the name of the author, but it is shown to be Herodian by Villoison (*Anecdote. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 175, see *Schoell, Histoire de la Littérature*

Grecque profane. Paris, 1824. vol. v. p. 29.)
 Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συνθέσεων διάφοροι τόνοι
 ἐγένοντο· ὀξύνεται τὸ ἐντελής, εὐειδής, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐτι
 τὸ εὐμήκης, μεγακήτης, καθὼ τὸ Η ἔχει παρεδρευό-
 μενον. (*Apollonius. Syntax*, ii. 31. p. 188.) I do
 not understand the reason given; but I think it
 more reasonable to suppose that Apollonius did,
 than to assert that he knew nothing of the mat-
 ter, and that all these words had a barytone
 pronunciation. Again Apollonius tells us that
 all the compounds of ἔργον are oxytones, as μου-
 σουργός, ἐλεφαντουργός, ὑπουργός. (*De Pronom.* p.
 39.) So the demonstratives ἐκεινοσί, οὐτοσί. (p. 45.)
 Φασὶ γὰρ, πᾶν ὄνομα ἀπλοῦν εἰς ΗΣ λήγον, ὀξύτονον,
 τουτὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης σὺν τῷ Σ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν ἐξε-
 χθήσεται, οἶον, εὐφυής, ἐνφυοῦς, εὐσεβής, εὐσεβοῦς,
 εὐκλής, εὐκλεοῦς· τοίνυν καὶ τὸ εὐμενής ὀξύτόνως
 ἐκφερόμενον, παραπλησίως τούτοις διὰ τοῦ Σ, ἐπὶ τῆς
 γενικῆς προσενεκτέον, εὐμενοῦς λέγοντας. (*Sextus Em-
 piricus ad Grammat.* c. 10.) The great etymo-
 logist, on the word ταρφείας, says that Aristar-
 chus makes it an oxytone like πυκνάς, but Diony-
 sius Thrax a barytone like ταχείας. He adds
 that the latter mode was more strictly according
 to analogy, but that the reading (ἀνάγνωσις) of
 Aristarchus had prevailed.

Eustathius on the word Φυλάκους (*Hom. II. Ω.*)
 says that Aristarchus is said to pronounce it
 (προφέρειν) as an oxytone, and to lay it down as a
 canon, that adjectives of more than two syllables
 ending in κος after the letter Α, are oxytones; as

μαλακός, περδακός, φαρμακός, ἀνακός. (Ed. Basil. p. 1504.) Aristarchus also made *παρειὰ* an oxytone from *παρειὰι*, as *πλευρὰ* from *πλευραὶ*, and *πυρὰ* from *πυραὶ*. (*Eustath. ad Hom. Il. Γ. p. 285.*)

So nouns of more than two syllables ending in ΣΤΗΣ which are derived from verbs: Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΗΣ ῥηματικά, ὅτε ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, ὁξύνεται, εἰλαπιναστής, λιθαστής, θεριστής. (*Apollonius De Adverb. Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 545.*) Τὰ εἰς Α λήγοντα ἐπὶ ῥήματα ἢ ὁξύνεται, ὡς δηθά, καναχιδά, πυκνά· ἢ βαρύνεται, ὡς τάχα, λίγα, ἄντα, πρῶτα. (*Ibid. p. 562.*) Apollonius, after taking up a page to prove that οὐδαμά ought to be an oxytone, concludes, Τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις συμπάρεται ἐπὶ ῥήματα ὁξυνόμενα εἰς Α λήγοντα, πυκνός πυκνῶς πυκνά, καλός καλῶς καλά· ὑγιής ἄρα ἢ τάσις κατὰ τὴν ὁξεῖαν ἐν τῷ οὐδαμά. (*Ibid. p. 566.*) Again he tells us that derivative adverbs ending in Ι are oxytones, and the instances he gives are ἀθεωρητί, ἀκωνίτι, ἀμογητί, ἀκλαυτί, πανθοινί. (*Ibid. p. 571.*) The whole book of Apollonius 'On Adverbs,' treats so much of their accents, and lays down so many and sometimes so subtle rules for them, as to prove clearly the variety of the Greek accents. Eustathius on the word Ἐρυθράς (*Hom. Il. B.*), says that Apion and Herodorus make it an oxytone like καλάς. (p. 202.)

In addition to these express authorities I would ask, How could the very word ὁξύτονον ever have found its way into the Greek language, if the thing which it describes had no place there? or

where would have been the need of such a distinction as βαρύτονον, if the whole language had been barytone? How could the term ἀναβιβασμὸς have been applied at all to words of two syllables, if they had invariably the accent on the first? That term implies a transferring of the accent from its usual place to a prior syllable. But where the accent is already on the first syllable, how can any question arise whether it ought to be placed higher? and yet we find whole pages in the grammarians, and particularly in Apollonius, as to the propriety of the ἀναβιβασμὸς of words, many of which are disyllables, as περὶ and παρὰ. The reasons given are subtle, and not always intelligible to a modern scholar. But we need not enter into the merits of the dispute; the fact of the dispute having arisen is enough for the point I am now endeavouring to prove.

It may be worth observing, that many of the passages cited afford a more particular proof than that already given, that the mark (') at the end of a word must stand for an acute; because we find it marked over the last syllable of the very words which the grammarians call oxytones. General reasoning shows that περὶ must have an acute somewhere, and therefore probably on the last; but this becomes a certainty when we find particular testimony for its being an oxytone, in authors of competent knowledge, not one of whom gives the remotest hint that it is less an oxytone in the middle, than at the end, of a sen-

tence. A great probability too is given to an oxytone pronunciation of some words, from their being used in totally different senses, though spelled in the same manner. *Δημος* means *people*, or *fat*; *θεα*, *spectacle*, or *goddess*; *ἄγων*, *contest*, or *leading*; according to its mark, and therefore probably to its pronunciation. The passage of Homer

Οφρα σάωσῃς
Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάς (*Il. X. 56.*),

in our monotonous manner of reading it, sounds like an unmeaning repetition.

We find many words used in different senses according to their accent, in Ammonius (*Περὶ Διαφόρων Λέξεων*); and, though he wrote after the second century, he occasionally quotes grammarians of an earlier date; as for instance, Tryphon: *Μισητὴ καὶ μισήτῃ διαφέρει παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ὥς φησι Τρύφων, ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας· ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ὀξυτονήσωμεν, σημαίνει τὴν ἀξίαν μίσους (καθὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ προφερόμεθα)· ἐὰν δὲ βαρυντονήσωμεν, τὴν καταφερῇ πρὸς συνουσίαν. (In voce Μισητή.)* Here again the word *προφερόμεθα* shows, that he means the pronunciation, and not the marking, of the word.

Further, many words have the mark of the circumflex on the last syllable, which ought therefore to be raised in the pronunciation, though we be unable to give it the exact modification of sound which that mark requires. Apollonius says that adverbs ending in OY are circumflexed (*περισπᾶται*), which expression always means that

the last syllable has a circumflex, in the same way as ὀξύνεται means that the last syllable has an acute; the instances he gives are, ὑψοῦ, τηλοῦ, ἀγχοῦ, αὐτοῦ. (*De Adverb. in Bekker. Anecd. Græc.* p. 587.)

So adverbs in OI, as Μεγαροῖ, Ισθμοῖ, ἐνταυθοῖ. (*Ibid.* p. 588.) So πλακοῦς, because it is contracted from πλακόεις, as τυρόεις τυροῦς, σησαμόεις σησαμοῦς. (*Athen.* xiv. 644.) One of the guests in Athenæus, reproaching the morals of his companion, says, Σὺ δὲ, ὦ σοφιστὰ, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρη οὐ μετὰ ἐταίρων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐταιρῶν. (xiii. p. 567.) How could any effect, or indeed any meaning, be given to this satire, without laying an accent on the last syllable of the last word? Solon in a scholium on Homer (*Il.* E. 656), says: Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος τὸ ἀμαρτῇ χωρὶς τοῦ Ι γράφει καὶ ὀξύνει. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν περισπῶσι, καὶ προσγράφουσι. (*Valckn. Animadversion. ad Ammonium.* p. 241.) Here the only point in difference between these great critics and grammarians was the kind of accent to be laid on the last syllable; but to lay it on the middle syllable, as we do, did not occur to either of them.

Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, has the following passage: Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ερμον, ἄνδρα τῶν Αθήνησιν εὐπατριδῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον Ερμού καλεῖν οἰκίαν τοὺς πυθοπολίτας· οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν περισπῶντας καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀπὸ ἥρωος μετατιθέντας. How is any sense to be made of this passage, but by supposing that the genitive

of *Ερμος* had the accent on the first syllable, and the genitive of *Ερμῆς*, *Mercury*, on the second?

There are, in the first ten verses of the manuscript of Theophilus, eighty-two words of more than one syllable, of which eleven have an acute, and thirteen a circumflex on the last ; this exactly agreeing with what Quintilian says of the variety of the Greek accent, as contrasted with the monotony of the Latin, in which “ *Ultima syllaba nec acuta unquam excitatur, nec flexa circumducitur,*” makes it in the highest degree improbable that all these marks on the last syllable should be wrong : at any rate, it is impossible that our accentuation of the Greek language in general can be right, inasmuch as we make every polysyllable a barytone, and elaborately introduce into Greek that very monotony which Quintilian observes with regret to be inseparable from the Latin.

Having thus shown that many polysyllables are accented on the last syllable, I have a right, on the authority of the manuscript of Theophilus, confirmed as it is by the two others, and by the Oxford and Leipsic editions, to assume that *πολλοὶ* is one of those words, till it can be shown, either that the monotonous accentuation which Quintilian deprecated, is the true one, or that, though there be oxytones among the polysyllables, *πολλοὶ* is not one of them. Why the Greeks should lay the accent on the last syllable of *πολλοὶ*, and on the first of *λόγοις*,

I will endeavour to explain when I sufficiently understand why the English say *hóllow* and *bestów*. It was so because usage would have it so: language in all its bearings is very arbitrary, and can seldom be explained by the eternal fitness of things. For the same reason that we lay the accent on the second syllable of *πολλοί*, we shall of course lay it on the second of *περί*, and all other words marked in the same manner.

DISYLLABLES.

8. We see that the accentuation of the oxytones, if not entirely arbitrary, depends upon various rules, many of them subtle, and some of them disputed. The rules for the accents of barytone words are more simple and regular. A disyllable barytone, since it must have an accent, must of course have that accent on its first syllable. In what cases this accent is to be an acute, and in what a circumflex, it is of little importance to inquire, until we know how to make the proper distinction between them in pronunciation: it is enough for our present purpose to know, that the first syllable of *ἔχω* and of *δῆμος* must be raised, because we find a mark on it. I have considered the question to be one of choice, which of the two syllables of the word is to be raised. This may be the fittest place to observe, that to raise both, though not physically impossible, would be against the analogy of all

language. Cicero indeed assumes it as a law of nature, that no word is to have more than one acute (above, p. 104). That the rule obtained at least in Greek we learn from Dionysius: Ταῖς δὲ πολυσυλλάβοις, οἷαί ποτ' ἂν ᾦσιν, ἢ τὸν ὀξὺν τόνον ἔχουσα μία ἐν πολλαῖς βαρεῖαις ἔνεστι. (xi. 78.)

TRISYLLABLES.

9. In words of more than two syllables, not oxytones, we shall no longer find conflicting and arbitrary decisions, but a systematic rule, though liable to some exceptions; and all words of more than two syllables, of whatever length, may be classed together, the rule being that the accent is never placed further back than the third syllable from the end. Cicero ventures to lay it down in a passage already cited, to be a law of nature, that the accent is never to be further carried back; which is at least a proof that this rule obtained in the Latin and Greek. That a further carrying back of the accent involves no *iusúperable difficulty*, is proved by our English pronunciation. But the Greeks never carried it so far back themselves, and would no doubt have considered as barbarians any nation who did; accordingly, to avoid circumlocution, when I speak of the accents of trisyllables, I intend that term to be understood of all words of more than two syllables. Not that I think it likely, nor indeed possible, that in a very long word all the syllables but one can have been equally depressed.

In ὀλβιοδαίμων, for instance, the first syllable, though grave as compared with the fourth, was most likely more elevated than the second and third. But for the ordinary purposes of pronunciation, it is sufficient to say, that there is but one accent to each trisyllable, and that accent, supposing the word not to be an oxytone, is laid either on the last syllable but one, or the last but two, according to the following rules :— When the last syllable is long, the word has its accent on the last but one, or penultimate (προροξύνεται) ; and when the last is short, the word has its accent on the last but two, or antepenultimate (προπαροξύνεται). There are in the twenty verses of the manuscript of Theophilus, fifty words of more than two syllables with the last syllable long, after deducting Hebrew proper names, abbreviations, and words accented on the last syllable. Of these fifty, there are thirty-six which have the mark on the last but one. There are, after making similar deductions, forty-one words of more than two syllables, having the last short : all of these except seven have the mark on the antepenultimate. Of the seven exceptions, ἐπειδήπερ, καθότι and διότι are rather apparent than real ; being compounded of two or more words, they might be written separately, ἐπειδή περ, καθ' ὅ, τι and δι' ὅ, τι. Προφανές οὖν γενήσεται, ὡς εἴη ἐν τρισὶ μέρεσι λόγου, προθέσεως τῆς διὰ κατὰ συνδεσμικὴν σύνταξιν φερομένης ἐπ' αἰτιατικὴν, καὶ παραλλήλων δύο πτωτικῶν, τοῦ ὃ καὶ

τοῦ τι, πτώσεως ὄντων οὐκ ἄλλης ἢ αἰτιατικῆς· ἡ αὐτὴ ἀπόδειξις σύνεστι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθότι. (*Apollonius. Syntax.* iv. 5. p. 315.) The real exceptions are thus reduced to four. So that we are warranted in laying down the rule, that the accent of Greek words of more than two syllables, not being oxytones, depends on the quantity of the last syllable. This appears pretty clearly from a passage in *Ælius Dionysius*, cited by *Eustathius*, in which such a rule is assumed : Οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ, κατὰ Αἴλιον Διονύσιον, ἐξέτεινον τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων ληγούσας· δι' ὃ καὶ παρώξυναν αὐτά· ἡ ἀγνοία γάρ, φησιν, ἔλεγον, καὶ ἡ εὐκλεία, καὶ ἡ ἱερεία, καὶ ἡ διανοία, καὶ ἡ ἀναιδεία δέ φησι, καὶ ἡ προνοία· ὧν πάντων ἐκτείνεται μὲν ἡ τελευταία. (*Eustath. in Odyss.* H. vol. iii. p. 284. ed. Basil. 1559.) He seems to consider that it follows as a matter of course, from the last being long, that the accent is to be on the penultimate.

Apollonius says (*De Adverb. Bekker. Anecd. Græc.* p. 577), Τὰ εἰς Ω λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα παροξύνεται καθὼς ἔχει τὰ προκατειλεγμένα, πρόσω, ἔσω, κάτω, ἐγγυτέρω. Then after mentioning *ἄνεω*, which is formed from the Attic *ἄνεως*, he says that the rest must by analogy be paroxytones : Οὐ δυναμένης τῆς ὀξείας τρίτης ἀπὸ τέλους πίπτειν. He does not indeed give the reason, but it is evident that it must be on account of the length of the last syllable. The proposition cannot be general, for that would be against all reason and experience, but must clearly be understood to be

confined to the subject of which he is speaking, namely, adverbs ending in Ω , and proves our accentuation of ἐγγύτερω to be wrong.

Why the accent of one syllable should depend upon the quantity of another, we must be content to refer to usage alone. It may perhaps be said, that the act of raising a syllable requires a certain exertion of the voice, after which it is uneasy to prolong a sound, which is equivalent to holding a note in singing, beyond a certain length: but how has the maximum of that length been fixed? rather perhaps by the usage of the Greeks than by the nature of things. The Latin mode agreed with the Greek in this, that after the raising of a syllable, it would not admit in the same word a protraction beyond one long and one short syllable. But whether the long syllable precedes or follows the short one, seems immaterial, as far as the exertion of the voice goes. It requires nearly the same exertion to pronounce *ty'rannus* as ἄδικους, and yet the Latins reject the first and the Greeks the second. Of all nations the English, who can pronounce the word *uncónscionableness* with perfect facility, are least likely to suppose any property of the human voice, which prevented the Greeks throwing back their accents further than they did. To whatever causes we may refer this mode of accentuation, we are warranted by the manuscript of Theophilus in pronouncing ἔδοξεν and πραγμάτων. I shall endeavour to show by quotations from

writers of undisputed authority, that both these words were so pronounced by the Greeks themselves, or in the ordinary language of grammarians, that ἔδοξεν was a proparoxytone, and πραγμάτων a paroxytone; and first that ἔδοξεν was a proparoxytone, and ought not only to be marked, but also pronounced, accordingly. It must be admitted, that the passage already cited from Quinctilian does not prove this point, because the particular instance he gives is strictly applicable to oxytones alone; but it at least puts us on our guard against assuming, in the present case, that analogy between the Latin and Greek accentuation which has already led us astray in the pronunciation of πολλοί. But we shall find other authorities for the point more immediately in question, and first that of Quinctilian himself: he speaks of some of his countrymen who were great sticklers for preserving their own pronunciation and orthography, even in those words which they had borrowed from the Greek, and after giving several instances, he goes on: “Ne in A quidem atque S literas exire temere masculina Græca nomina recto casu patiebantur: ideoque et apud Cælium legimus, Pelia Cincinnatus: et apud Messalam, Benefecit Euthia: et apud Ciceronem, Hermagora: ne miremur, quod ab antiquorum plerisque Ænea et Anchisa sit dictus; nam si ut Mæcenus, Suffenas, Asprenas dicerentur, genitivo casu non E litera, sed TIS syllaba, terminarentur. Inde Olympo et tyranno

acutam mediam syllabam dederunt, quia duabus longis sequentibus primam brevem acui noster sermo non patitur." (i. 5, 61.) It is true that there is a trifling degree of obscurity in the latter part of the last sentence. Gesner has observed this, and concludes, as critics are apt to do, that what he cannot understand must be inaccurate. "Parum accurata ista videri possunt. Primo enim duabus longis sequentibus primam, sc. antepenultimam, acui non Latinus tantum sermo non patitur, sed neque Græcus, qui Ὀλυμπος cum patiatur, Ὀλυμψω respuit: deinde apud Latinos ultima hic non respicitur, sed sola penultima, nec magis Olympus et tyrannus primam acuere possunt, quam Olympo et tyranno: denique in utraque lingua nulla plane habetur primæ syllabæ ratio, ita quidem ut Ὀλυμπος nusquam in accentu diversum quid patiatur ab altero illo Ὀλυμπος. Neque tamen est ut librariorum hic accusemus. Videtur primo Fabius ipse primam positionem Ὀλυμπος, τύραννος cogitasse. Illa deinde exempla, quod solet, casu inflexit ad ordinem constructionis et verbum dederunt. Tum in ratione accentus explicanda ad hos ipsos casus, quos posuerat, tantum attendisse, et quæ multo latius patent, ad hæc sola vocabula, et quæ his undecunque similia sunt, restrinxisse." For my own part, I had rather suppose Quintilian to mean something more than he has expressed, than to have expressed his meaning so inaccurately. We must remember, that he here is not laying down the correct

mode of accenting Latin, but is relating the caprices of certain critics, with whom he himself perhaps did not agree. These critics wrote the word Pelia without the final S of the Greek *πηλία*. Why? It does not appear that they would have objected to write it with the S in the nominative case if it had stopped there; but their objection was, that if they wrote it Pelias in the nominative, they should be obliged by the analogy of their language, from which they were unwilling to depart, to make it Peliatis in the genitive. So they perhaps might not have felt much repugnance at calling it *ty'rannus* or *ólympus*: but here again the analogy of the language interfered, for as in Latin, the quantity of the last syllable has no effect on the accent, the oblique cases of words ending in US have always the accent on the same syllable as the nominative; *dóminus* making *dómini*, *dómino*, *dóminum*. So that if they had made it *ty'rannus* in the nominative, they must have made it *ty'ranni*, *ty'ranno*, *ty'rannum*. This would have produced an accentuation which would have been strange to a Roman ear, and still more, when the accent was not only removed from its proper place, but transferred also from a long to a short syllable; and indeed Quintilian seems in this whole passage to be only following up, either unconsciously or intentionally, the same account which Cicero gives of the old school of etymology, in the passage in which he says that the ancient Latins, and Ennius among them,

wrote Bruges instead of Phryges; because the latter mode of spelling the nominative case would have obliged them to write the oblique cases also with Greek letters, though with Latin terminations. Phryges would be a complete Greek word; Brugibus, a complete Latin word; Phrygibus, neither the one nor the other: “Vi patefecerunt Bruges, non Phryges ipsius antiqui declarant libri; nec enim Græcam literam adhibebant (nunc autem etiam duas): et cum Phrygum et cum Phrygibus dicendum esset, absurdum erat, aut tantum barbaris casibus Græcam literam adhibere, aut recto casu solum Græce loqui.” (*Orator*. 48.) But whether this solution be correct or not, it is impossible, unless we go beyond Gesner, and pronounce the whole passage of Quintilian to be absolute nonsense, to avoid the conclusion, that at that time the Greeks laid the accent on the first syllable of *Ολυμπος* and of *τύραννος*: for had they called those words *Ολύμπος* and *τυράννος*, this would have agreed with the ordinary Roman accentuation, and would have left nothing to change: whereas the word “dederunt” necessarily implies, that the critics in question did make a change, did give (that is, apply) an accent to a syllable in the Latin word, which had none in the corresponding Greek word. Apollonius, in contending that *οἰκόνδε* and words of that construction are not adverbs, but that they consist of two words, a noun and the particle *δὲ*, says that this is proved by the accent: *Τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς*

τάσεως προφανῇ· πῶς γὰρ τρίτη ἀπὸ τέλους ἡ περι-
σπωμένη ; πῶς τετάρτη ἀπὸ τέλους ἡ ὀξεῖα ; λέγω ἐν
τῷ οἰκόνδε, οὔλυμπόνδε. (*De Adverbio in Bekker.*
Anecd. Græc. p. 592.) This proves beyond a
question, that the accent was on the first syllable
of Οὔλυμπον.

Tryphon, speaking of the accent of *πονηρος* and
μοχθηρος, argues that they ought, according to
analogy, to have the accent on the last syllable,
though the Attics make them barytones: Εἰ δὲ
οἱ Ἀττικοὶ βαρυτονοῦσιν, οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι· χαίρουσι
γὰρ τῇ βαρύτητι· ἄδελφε γὰρ λέγουσι, τὴν πρώτην
ὀξύτονοντες, ὡς ἄπελθε. (*Cit. in Ammon. Περὶ*
ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων. voc. Πονηρόν.) Apol-
lonius says that words having an acute or a
circumflex on the penultimate, yet when com-
pounded, have the accent on the antepenultimate,
as *κοῦρος*, *ἄκουρος*, *ἐπίκουρος*, &c. (*Syntax*, i. 23.
p. 60.) The same author tells us that we may
know by the accent, whether a part of a sentence
is to be taken to consist of two words or of one:
Τὸ γὰρ Διὸς κόρος παροξυνόμενον μὲν τὴν γενικὴν
ἔχει ἰδίᾳ νοουμένην, ὅμοιον δὲ τῷ Διὸς υἱός, προπαρο-
ξυνόμενον δὲ, ὅμοιον ἐστὶ τῷ Διόγνητος Διόσδοτος.
(*Syntax*, iv. 1. p. 298.) And again, in pursuing
the same subject with respect to verbs, after
saying that we cannot distinguish by the accent
of *καθήψα* or *προεῖχον*, whether they are com-
pounded or separate words, he adds, that the
fact of composition is at once ascertained in these
words, in which the accent is carried back (*τοῖς*

ἀναβιβαζόμενοις). The examples he then gives are : Ἀνεβιβάσθη τὸ κáθηται, τὸ σύνειμι, τὸ σύμφημι, τὸ σύνοιδα,

κάτεχ' οὐραϊόν·
 Νέστωρ δ' αὖτις ἔφιζε·
 ἔνεσαν σπονύεντες οἰστοί·
 ζύνισαν μεγάλην ἀλαλητῇ·

ἄλλα πλείστα, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰς αἰτίας ἐκθησόμεθα· ὥς γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων φαμέν τινα συντιθέμενα ἀναβιβάζειν τὸν τόνον, καὶ τινα τὴν ταυτότητα τοῦ τόνου τηρεῖν. Τὸ δὲ μεῖζον, ὅλη ἡ προστακτικὴ ἔγκλισις κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐνεργητικῶν ῥημάτων προφορὰν οὐσα δισύλλαβος ἀναβιβάζει τὸν τόνον, κάτελθε, κατάλαβε, περίγραφε, καὶ οὐδὲ κατ' ὀλίγον διστάξαι ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως. (iv. 8. p. 323.) That Apollonius, in this and similar passages, is speaking, not of marks, but of accents, that is, of actual pronunciation, is proved, if proof can be thought wanting, by the expression προφορὰν. Again he says : Ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ δούλος προπερισπωμένου τὸ σύνδουλος καὶ κοινὸν καὶ προπαροξυνόμενον. (*De Pronom.* p. 37.) And in discussing the question, whether the first letter of ἐκεῖνος is pleonastic, he says : Τὸ Ε πλεονάζον ἐν δισύλλαβοις ἀναβιβάζει τὸν τόνον, ἔειπεν, ἔοργεν, ἔεδνα, ἔαδεν, εἰ πλεονασμός· τὸ γὰρ ἑώρων διὰ τὸ χρονικὸν παράγγελμα οὐκ ἀνεβίβασε τὸν τόνον, πῶς οὖν οὐ προπαροξύνεται τὸ ἐκεῖνος ; (*Ibid.* p. 74.) His expression as to ἑώρων, evidently supposes the rule above laid down as to the accent depending on the quantity of the last syllable.

Herodian goes so far as roundly to accuse of

barbarism those who pronounce βουλῶμαι instead of βούλωμαι. Κατὰ δὲ τόνον βαρβαρίζουσιν οἱ λέγοντες ἐὰν βουλῶμαι, καὶ ἐὰν ἀρχῶμαι· δεῖ γὰρ λέγειν, ἐὰν βούλωμαι, καὶ ἐὰν ἄρχωμαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ὑποτακτικὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀριστικοῖς ὁμοτονεῖ, φέρομαι, ἐὰν φέρωμαι, λέγομαι, ἐὰν λέγωμαι· οὕτω καὶ ἐὰν βούλωμαι, καὶ ἐὰν ἄρχωμαι. Ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ τοὺς τόνους βαρβαρίζουσιν, οἱ λέγοντες ἀκράτον προπερισπωμένως· δεῖ γὰρ λέγειν ἄκρατον προπαροξυτόνως. (*De Barbarismo et Solæcismo*, p. 196.) The same author says that nouns when compounded sometimes throw back their accent, as ἀληθής, φιλαλήθης, ἀρχαῖος, φιλάρχαιος. (Παρεκβολαί, κ. τ. λ. p. 213.)

It must however be admitted, that the accentuation of some trisyllables having in the penultimate a diphthong or a long vowel, appears to have been different at different periods. Isaac Vossius lays it down that the word ἀνόρουσε should be ἀνοροῦσε, and πολύχαλκον should be πολυχάλκον; and in support of his position, after citing some authors whose works are not now extant, he goes on: “Sed et ex iis, qui omnium manibus teruntur, compilatore videlicet Etymologici Magni, et Eustathio, idem observare est, utpote qui non uno loco testentur, in antiquis exemplaribus et præceptis veterum Grammaticorum, longe diversam accentuum occurrere rationem ab ea quæ postmodum placuit. In iis enim monent, non scriptum fuisse ἔτοιμον, ἔρημον, τρόπαιον, sed ἐτοῖμον, ἐρήμον, τροπαῖον. Item non ταχύτης ταχύτητος, et βραδύτης βραδύτητος, sed ταχυτῆς ταχυτῆτος, et βραδυτῆς

βραδυτῆτος, et sic in cæteris omnibus, ita ut accentus veræ et naturali syllabarum semper conveniret mensuræ." (*De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi*, Oxon. 1673. p. 19.) The passages to which he refers seem to be the following: (*Etymol. Magn.*)—Πάν κτητικὸν οὐδέτερον, ἀπὸ θηλυκοῦ γεγονὸς, τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἔχει τὴν ὀξεῖαν· οἶον, κεφαλὴ, κεφάλαιον· γυνή, γυναῖον· ὅθεν καὶ τροπή, τρόπαιον· οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ προπερισπῶσι. (*In voce Τρόπαιον.*) Here we may observe, that so far is the author from laying it down as a rule that the accentuation ought to be that approved by Vossius, that his rule is just the reverse; for his statement that these words have the accent on the antepenultimate, must mean that they have it by usage, or in other words, that they ought to have it. It is true, he adds as a fact, that the ancient Attics placed a circumflex on the penultimate; but he by no means says that this ancient accentuation ought to prevail, or that the more recent is a corruption or a barbarism. That this comparatively less ancient pronunciation of the word *τρόπαιον* was at least five hundred years old at the time when the Etymologist wrote, which was probably about the tenth century, is clear from the note of Servius on the word *Trophæum* (*Virgil. Æn.* 10. v. 542):—"Declinatio Latina est: unde penultima habebit accentum. In numero vero plurali, quia tropæa dicimus, nec aliquid inde mutilamus, erit Græcus accentus, sicut apud Græcos, scilicet tertia syllaba a fine."

Many similar passages might be quoted from Servius to show that Epiros, &c. had the Greek accents, though in Virgil's verse: but we must remember, that Servius wrote after the time, which, according to our definition, should be considered as the age of purity. As to "tropæa," I use him only in answer to a citation from an author of a still later age. We learn from Suidas (*In voc. Τρόπαιον.*) more particularly, how far we are to go back for the "old Attics" who made the word τροπαῖον. He informs us that they were Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Thucydides; while the later Attics, who made it τρόπαιον, were Menander and others. Surely we may be content, if we speak Greek as well as Menander. That the circumflex accentuation of τροπαῖον was uncommon, may be further shown from Eustathius: *Οτι δὲ διάφορα καὶ ἄλλα οἱ Ἀττικοὶ παρὰ πῆν ἀνάλογον συνήθειαν τονοῦσι, δῆλον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τροπαῖον, ὃ κοινῶς τράπαιον λέγεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐταῖμον, καὶ ἐρήμων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοῖος (τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν ὁμῶς) ἐν προπερισπάσει.* (p. 258. ed. Basil.) *Ερημος παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς προπαροξύνεται παρὰ δὲ τῷ ποιητῇ προπερισπᾶται.* (*Etymol. Magn. in voc. Ερημος.*) † Surely this is not an authority that the accent ought to be on the second syllable, but only that it was so in Homer's time, and had been since changed: but by whom? not by the vulgar, not by barbarians, but by the Attics; and here I presume he means the later Attics, whose authority must prevail, not because it is the best,

but because it is the last : Προπερισπᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐρῆμος, καθὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἐτοῖμος. (*Eustath. ad Homer, Il. K. vol. i. p. 748. ed. Basil.*) Here again there is no reason to suppose that the change in the accentuation had been recent. Prudentius has the following line :—

“ Cui jejuna erēmi saxa loquacibus
Exundant scatebris.”—*Cathemerin Hymn. v. 89.*

The most probable reason for this mistake in the quantity was his having always heard the word with an accent on the first syllable of the nominative, and as in Latin the accent of the nominative passes without change to the other cases, he did not alter it, where a Greek would have altered it. He also uses *idōlā* as a dactyl (*Contra Sym. 47.*), and doubtless from the same cause. Prudentius wrote eight hundred years before Eustathius. But in truth the passages on the accent of *ἐρῆμος* and similar ones in Eustathius, are so far from proving that the whole system of accentuation in his time had been extensively corrupted, that they go far to justify an inference the other way. Would he not have complained of such an extensive corruption in the same terms as Vossius and other writers have since done? Instead of this he points out some particular words which in Homer's time had a different accent from that which they bore later ; from which we may infer that in the words of which he makes no mention, namely in the whole body of the Iliad and Odyssey, the accents have remained the same down

to his own time, and if so, probably to the time when Theophilus copied our manuscript, which was about eighty years afterwards. All the authorities cited by Vossius apply to words having in the penultimate a diphthong or a long vowel, and the question has been, whether they should have an acute on the antepenultimate or a circumflex on the penultimate. Vossius has cited no authority whatever for his arbitrary accentuation of *πολυχάλκος*, still less for any general proposition, that the "accent agreed with the true and natural measure of syllables," by which he evidently meant, that a long syllable should have either an acute or a circumflex. It is further to be observed, that all the instances cited are nouns, so that it may be doubted whether the authority of the etymologist and Eustathius extends to verbs. Though Homer used *ἐρῆμος*, it by no means follows that he used *ἀνορούσε*: and even with respect to nouns having a long vowel or a diphthong in the penultimate, it by no means appears that either Homer or the early Attics circumflexed them all. Indeed we have the authority of Eustathius that *ὄργια* and *ἄγνια* were proparoxytones: *Οργιαν δὲ προπαροξυτόνως ἢ παλαιὰ λέγει Ατθίς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄγνιαν· οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι τὸν τόνον κατὰγονσι.* (p. 358.) But even conceding, for argument's sake, that in these cases the ancients were right and the moderns wrong; that we ought upon these authorities to pronounce the words *ἐρῆμος*, *ἐτοῖμος* and *τροπαῖον*, and by analogy also

to give all similar words, such as ἀρχῶμαι and βουλῶμαι a circumflex on the penultimate: how far would this overturn the general system of accentuation as displayed by the marks? And to bring it to a matter of arithmetic, by reference to our manuscript of Theophilus, in how many instances should we have to alter the marks? In six out of two hundred and eighty-one.

Again, that *πραγμάτων* ought to be pronounced as a paroxytone, appears clearly from the passage already cited (p. 116) from Athenæus, in which he says, that some laid the accent of *λεπαστη* on the last but one, as *μεγάλη*, for he never would have used this illustration, unless it had been notorious that *μεγάλη* was a paroxytone, and not *μέγαλη* as we sound it. The same author, in discussing the accent of *χερνίβα*, has the following remarks: Παρὰ μὲν τοι τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς παροξυτόνως ἀνέγνωσται χερνίβα, κ.τ.λ. Χρὴ μὲν τοι προπαροξυτόνως προφέρεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ τοιάδε ῥηματικά σύνθετα εἰς Ψ λήγοντα, γεγονότα παρὰ τὸν παρακείμενον τὴν παραλήγουσαν τοῦ παρακειμένου φυλάσσουσιν, ἂν τε ἔχῃ τοῦτον διὰ τῶν δύο ΜΜ λεγόμενον, βαρύνεται· λέλειμμαι, αἰγίλιψ· τέτριμμαι, οἰκότριψ. κέκλεμμαι, βοόκλεψ, παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ, Ερμῆς· βέβλεμμαι, κατώβλεψ, παρὰ Αρχελάῳ τῷ Χερρόνησίτῃ ἐν τοῖς Ἰδιοφύεσσιν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλαγίοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συλλαβῆς φυλάττει τὴν τάσιν. (*Athen.* ix. 77.) It appears from this last sentence, that αἰγίλιψ, and αἰγίλιπος have the accent on the same syllable, and therefore not on the first, for αἰγίλιπος, with

the accent thrown back to the fourth from the end, we know to be inadmissible. Again, on the accent of *Σηπία*, he says, *Ὡς αἰτίας, ἡ παραλήγουσα παροξύνεται, ὡς Φιλήμων ἱστορεῖ, ὁμοίως καὶ ταῦτα, παιδία, ταινία, οἰκία.* (vii. 123.) We shall see further, from a passage of Dionysius, that ἀρβύλης had the accent on the penultimate.

Aristotle, in treating of the different modes by which sophisms or ambiguities may be introduced into language, makes brief mention of accent as one of these modes, saying at the same time, that such an ambiguity cannot easily arise in communications by word of mouth. One of his commentators, Alexander (usually called Aphrodisiensis, from his birth-place), in illustration of this passage, cites a law, *Ἑταίρα χρυσία εἰ φοροῖη, δημοσία ἔστω.* What was to be confiscated? the necklace or the lady? a point of some interest this to a Greek lord of the treasury. Now, the law written without marks leaves it uncertain whether the word is to be considered as *δημοσία*, the feminine singular, agreeing with *ἑταίρα*; or *δημόσια* the neuter plural agreeing with *χρυσία*: and if any one were to read the words aloud after our English manner; he would leave it equally uncertain; because he would pay no attention to the quantity of the last syllable, but finding the penultimate short, and therefore according to his canon incapable of receiving the accent, he would still call it *δημόσια*, even though he considered it as the feminine singular. But Alexander's ex-

pressions prove that such a pronunciation would be wrong : *Εν μὲν ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ διαλέξει οὐκ ἀπατήσῃ ποτὲ ὁ λέγων, Εταίρα, χρυσία εἰ φοροίη, δημοσία ἔστω· εἴληπται γὰρ ὁ λέγων, παροξυτόνως τὸν λόγον ἔξε- νεγκών, ἢ τυχὸν καὶ προπαροξυτόνως· καὶ οὐκ ἂν σο- φίσαιτό ποτε τὸν ἡκροαμένον, νῦν μὲν παροξυτόνως λέγων, νῦν δὲ εἰς προπαροξύτονα μεταλαμβάνων· ἅπαξ γὰρ εἰρηκῶς ἐσήμανε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλευμα.* (*Alexand in Aristot. Sophist. Elench.* p. 20. ed. Ald.) Nothing can be clearer, than that there were two different ways of pronouncing the word, according to the signification attached to it by the speaker, and that one of these ways was to make *δημοσία* a paroxytone; so that by pronouncing it in that way, he at once put an end to any ambiguity as to the construction which he put upon it.

I have attempted to show that our reading of the passage in St. Luke ought to be according to the marks evinced in the manuscript of Theophilus. Generally the same authorities which induce us to pronounce *ἔδοξε* and *πραγμάτων*, ought by analogy to lead us to apply the accents to the greater part of the words in the manuscript, according to the marks. I say the greater part, because a few of the marks show an accentuation different from that which we should have assigned them. The same authorities which would show that we ought to say *πραγμάτων* would make us say *ἀναταξάσθαι*, and the reasoning which makes *ἔδοξε* right would make *κατεσκευασμένον* wrong. It becomes necessary therefore to

consider the exceptions to the rule above laid down as to the accents of trisyllables. We have seen that there are in the twenty verses of the manuscript fifty trisyllables (in which term are comprehended all words of more than two syllables), with the last syllable long, of which thirty-six have the mark on the penultimate. The remaining fourteen have it on the antepenultimate. Of these, eight ending in AI are oblique tenses of verbs, like ἀνατάξασθαι, and six ending in OI are nominatives plural, like γενόμενοι. It is true that we are told by grammarians, that in such cases the final diphthong is short; but it seems that they have no other reason for this, than that of finding the mark where they do. They would therefore tell us that the mark is on the antepenultimate of ἀνατάξασθαι, because the final AI is short, and AI must be short, because the mark is on the antepenultimate. But this reasoning in a circle is silenced by our finding that no poet has ever used these syllables as short before a consonant; there being no instance of such an ending to a verse, as

πείθεσθαι γέροντι,

or,

ἄνθρωποι γέγοντο.

It is true that the final AI and OI are often made short before a vowel; as,

δέχθαι ἄποινα.—*Il.* A. 23.

Ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωρόμενοι.—*Ibid.* 46.

but so sometimes are the other diphthongs, and

the long vowels. Here again however we fail not to find authority for our exceptions, as we have before done for our rules. Apollonius speaking of the singular article : *Οτε γάρ φαμεν, ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον γένος τὸ ἄρθρον παρατίθεμεν ὅτε δὲ, οὕτω, τὸ Ἀρίσταρχοι προπαροξύνεται, τὸ Ἀρίσταρχοι εἰς ΟΙ λήγει, πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς φωνῆς φαμέν.* (*Syntax*, i. 4.) Apollonius would never have brought such an example as this, viz. the word *Ἀρίσταρχοι* is a proparoxytone, had it not been a thing taken for granted, and as certainly known, as that the word *Ἀρίσταρχοι* ended in *ΟΙ*. Dr. Gally enumerates among the incongruities, as he is pleased to consider them, of the accents as evinced by the marks, that many words have an acute upon the antepenultimate, though the last is long ; of these there are four classes :—

1. The Ionic genitive cases in *ΕΩ* for *ΟΥ*, as *Αἰνεῖω*.
2. The Attic genitive cases of contracts in *ΙΣ* and *Ι*, as *ὄψεως, ὕφρων· σινήπεως, σινήπεων*.
3. Nouns in *ΩΣ* and *ΩΝ*, which do not increase in the genitive case, as *εὐγεως, ἀνώγεων*.
4. The compounds of *γέλως*, as *κατάγελως*. (p. 55.)

I have not found any explanation of these instances of exception from the general rule. In the absence of positive authority, I should conjecture, that in the most ancient form of all these words the last syllable was short, and the accent was formed accordingly, that the old genitive of

ὄφις, for instance, was ὄφιος, and that though a later usage prevailed so far as to alter the quantity of the last syllable, it was not strong enough to disturb the accent to which men's ears had been accustomed.

Again, of the forty-one trisyllables having the last short, there are four which have the mark on the last syllable but one; namely, παρηκολυθηκότι, προβεβηκότες, προβεβηκυῖα, κατασκευασμένον. Perhaps the solution of this difficulty is to be found in the passage of Herodian already cited (p. 115), that participles have a peculiar accentuation (ἰδίᾳ τονοῦνται), to distinguish them from adjectives. Apollonius says that the participle συνεληλασμενοι, when deprived of the Σ, throws back the accent. (ἀναγκαιῶς ἀνεβίβαζε τὸν τόνον. *De Adverb. Bekker. Anecd. Græc.* p. 549.) This shows the accent must have been on the penultimate, for no word can throw the accent further back than the antepenultimate: Οὐτάμενος· προπαρωξύνετο δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀριστάρχου διὰ τὸν χαρακτῆρα. (Εκλογαί, κ. τ. λ. in the 'Θησαυρὸς,' κ. τ. λ. of *Aldus*, p. 119.) If οὐτάμενος must, under all circumstances, be a proparoxytone, why this remark, that Aristarchus made it so for a special reason? I do not indeed understand the reason: but I find no difficulty in supposing that Aristarchus knew more of the matter than I do.

I found it convenient at the outset to assume, that the marks were intended to serve as guides

in laying the accent, till some other theory should be supported by probable evidence. But the various passages which have been cited as to the accents of words and classes of words, seem, when duly considered, to turn this assumption into a very strong demonstration. The marks in manuscripts correspond so exactly with the accents described by the grammarians, as to leave no room to doubt that the former must represent the latter. Athenæus tells us, that *καλῆ* was an oxytone, and *μεγάλη* a paroxytone, and we accordingly find *καλῆ* marked on the last syllable, and *μεγάλη* on the last but one; and so of all the rest. Besides this agreement of the mark of each of these words with the accent which the grammarians have assigned to it, we may observe, in the manner of marking, a compliance with the canons laid down by them in two particulars :

First, they teach us that each word has one accent, that is one acute, and only one: and accordingly we find a mark, and no more than one, over each word. This too is an additional proof that the office of the mark has no reference to quantity: because we nowhere find any canon that each word has only one long syllable, or only one short syllable, nor could any such proposition have been advanced without evident absurdity.

Secondly, the grammarians lay it down that the accent is not to be carried back further than the last syllable but two; and accordingly the

marks are always contained, even in those long compound words with which the Greek language abounds, within the compass of the three last syllables. All this excludes the supposition of ignorance, or carelessness, or indifference in placing the marks, and affords us the strongest assurance that they have been applied in compliance with good reasons and paramount authority, that they are intended to represent a living and actual pronunciation, and that the particular modification of pronouncing to which they point, is the accent, or in other words, the exertion of the voice in raising syllables.

CHAPTER IV.

1. QUANTITY.—2. QUANTITY DIFFERENT FROM ACCENT.—3. GREEK ACCENTS DIFFERENT FROM LATIN.—4. PRINCIPLES OF QUANTITY.—5. MODE OF EXPRESSING QUANTITY IN COMMON DISCOURSE.—6. IN ORATORY.—7. IN POETRY.—8. OUR PRONUNCIATION VIOLATES QUANTITY.

QUANTITY.

1. I THINK the various passages which have been cited from authors who wrote on the Greek language in the state of its purity and perfection, ought to be sufficient to justify us in following the marks generally where we find them to agree with these authorities: and more particularly to bring the argument to the point on which I have found it convenient to place it, I think I have made out that we ought to read the first chapter of St. Luke according to the manuscript of Theophilus: and here I might, without any gross inconsistency, leave the question. All that I have hitherto attempted to make out is, that the marks ought to be followed in reading Greek prose. To say that such a pronunciation would spoil the quantity of Greek verse, is by no means a complete refutation of the arguments; because it may still be true, that accent, or quantity, or

both, may be different in prose and in verse. Vossius indeed directly asserts this, "Omnino necesse est aliter in prosa, aliter in carmine sonuisse vocabula." (*De Poematum Cantu*, &c. p. 32.) And Primatt, though a stout defender of the reading according to the marks, limits such reading to prose, on the ground that it cannot be admitted in verse, being inconsistent with quantity. The necessity for this distinction, however, seems chiefly founded on the proposition, that the accent gives time or extension to the syllable on which it falls; and if that proposition be disproved, falls with it. I know of no passage in any ancient writer, in which such a distinction is asserted, nor any from which it can be inferred, except two words of Aristotle, which I think admit of an easy explanation in another sense. The passage is as follows: Παρά δὲ τὴν προσωδίαν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄνευ γραφῆς διαλεκτικοῖς οὐ ράδιον ποιῆσαι λόγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ ποιήμασι μᾶλλον οἶον, καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον ἔνιοι διορθοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ὡς ἀτόπως εἰρηκότα, τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ· λύουσι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῇ προσωδίᾳ, λέγοντες τὸ οὐ ὀξύτερον· καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν, δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὐχος ἀρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ ἐνετέλλετο διδόναι· τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα παρὰ τὴν προσωδίαν ἐστίν. (*Sophist. Elench.* c. 4.) Upon which his commentator Alexander Aphrodisiensis says: Πέμπτος τόπος τῶν περὶ τὴν λέξιν σοφισμάτων ὁ περὶ τὴν προσωδίαν ἐστίν· ὅς τις ἐν μὲν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς λόγοις τοῖς μὴ γεγραμμένοις

ἀλλὰ λεγομένοις οὐ ῥαδίως γίγνεται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς γε-
γραμμένοις διαλεκτικοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς
ποιήμασι δύναται γενέσθαι. (P. 20. ed. Ald.) He
then proceeds to give as an illustration the am-
biguity which arises on the word δημοσια, which
has already been cited (p. 141).

Primatt has, from these two words, καὶ ποιήμασι,
drawn the conclusion, that such a fallacy might
take place in a poem even *viva voce*: the only
assignable reason for which is, as he infers, that
in reading verse the quantity prevails.—*Accentus
Redivivi: or a Defence of an Accented Pronunci-
ation of Greek Prose, showing it to be conform-
able to all Antiquity, &c., by W. Primatt, M.A.*
Camb. 1764, pref. p. xiv. But the true meaning
of the author is to be collected from the examples
which he gives, and seems to be merely that
poetry would give greater facility than prose for
such a sophism. The whole chapter treats of
the various kinds of sophisms or rhetorical sub-
terfuges, by which a crafty speaker or writer,
after stating a proposition so as to be understood
in one sense, leaves himself an opening to turn
round afterwards upon his adversary and explain
it in another. After treating of four other kinds,
he briefly touches on the accentual sophism, of
which he says, that it is not easily made in com-
mon discourse, but in written prose it may, and
still more easily in poetry, for so his very concise
words may be fairly translated. Of prose he
gives no example; an omission which his com-

mentator supplies by showing how “δημοσια,” a word constantly occurring in common talk, might have two different meanings according to the accent, so that a lawyer who had been at first understood to have stated in writing that a necklace should be confiscated, might afterwards creep out of this obvious meaning, and argue that if the word were read as it ought to be, the meaning would be, that the woman who had worn it, should be sold for a slave. But why, it will be asked, is it easier to make such a fallacy in poetry than in prose? For this obvious reason, that in poetry, and particularly Homer’s poetry, of which alone Alexander seems to understand it, many words were coined, the true meaning of which could be collected from the accent alone, as they were spelt like other words, which in simple prose bore a different signification. And from the instances given, and particularly the second, on which Primatt seems to rely, we shall see the force of this construction; always bearing in mind the point which Aristotle had in view, namely, the power of receding from what seems an obvious meaning, and substituting another. Jupiter, being won by Thetis to lure Agamemnon to defeat, sends a lying dream to persuade him that victory is certain:—

Βάσκ' ἴθι, οὐλε Ονευρε, θαῖς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.
 Ελθὼν εἰς κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,
 Πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύεμεν, ὥς ἐπιτέλλω·
 Θωρήξαι ἔκτελε κάρη κομόωντος Ἀχαιοῦς

Παισὺνδὶ γὰρ κεν ἔλοι πόλιν εὐρύαγυιαν
 Τρώων· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
 Αθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας
 Ἡρῇ λισσομένην· δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι.

Hom. Il. B. 8.

It is true that in our modern editions we do not find these last words, but instead of them, *Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται*, but the words which Aristotle quotes, were no doubt in the received editions of his time, and probably in the famous one which always lay under the pillow of his immortal pupil. Now the obvious meaning of *δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι* was, "We, the gods, give to him to gain glory." Some of Homer's readers, shocked at finding a direct falsehood placed in Jupiter's mouth, tried to set the poet right (*διορθοῦσθαι*) by changing the accent, and contending that it ought to be read *διδόμεν*, which would be the Æolic form of the infinitive, and, understanding *χρῆ*, would have an imperative sense: "Do you, Dream, give him to gain glory," that is, do you use such illusions as you please to make him think he has victory in his grasp. Now this was a sophism or subterfuge which, had the proposition been stated in prose, could have been of no avail to the writer or his defenders. *Διδόμεν* in prose can mean nothing else but "we give:" in vain you try to escape by alleging that you intended it for the infinitive mood: the reply would be, that in that case you ought to have said

δοῦναι or διδόναι. When we have so obvious a mode of explaining the author's meaning, it surely cannot be safe to infer from two words that poetry was read with different accents from prose, and particularly when we have precise authorities, and among them Quintilian's, the other way.

That the accents were the same in verse as in prose seems highly probable from the reason of the thing. Prose, or in other words language, must have preceded poetry, and must have had a fixed accentuation. Then all the poet had to do was, to take the language as he found it, only confining it in certain metre, and perhaps assisting it by music. It is surely in the highest degree improbable that the earliest poets should have systematically applied different accents to the words of their language from those used in common discourse, or that the simple music which was probably their accompaniment, should have had the power of drowning or annihilating the accents. I say simple music, because I admit that the scientific and elaborate music, to which lyrical, and particularly choral, poetry was set in later times, had sometimes the effect of merging the accents. And unless the earliest poets changed the accents, we are at a loss to fix upon any of their successors who had the boldness to make such an innovation. Further, the passage of Quintilian above cited (p. 107), in which he says that the Roman poets placed Greek nouns

in their verses, in order to improve their harmony by the variety of the accent, is a proof that that variety cannot be restricted to prose. We know that the quantity of Greek and Latin verses was the same. In any part of a verse therefore where a Latin noun could be used, any Greek noun, to be introduced instead of it, must have the same quantity. Take as an instance Virgil's line, beginning "Phillyrides Chiron." Write these words in Greek, Φιλλυριδης Χειρων; it is clear that the quantity remains the same. If then the accent with which Φιλλυριδης would be pronounced in prose, does not also attach to it in verse, but it is still to be called Φιλλύριδης, where is the variety? A passage in Terentianus Maurus, showing that Σωκράτην may stand in the same place of a verse as Appulos, though different in accent, will be more particularly adverted to in treating of the arsis and thesis. Primatt cites Servius on the accent of Simois (*Virg. Æneid* i. 104.):—"Nomen hoc integrum ad nos transiit, unde suo accentu profertur (sc. Σιμόεις); nam si esset Latinum, in antepenultima haberet accentum, quia secunda a fine brevis." He then goes on: "A like remark he has upon the word Periphas (*Æneid*, ii. 476). Una ingens Periphas. His note upon Periphas is, Ultima accentum non habet, ne fœmininum sit; nec tertia a fine, quia novissima longa est; ergo RI habebit accentum: and yet there could be no doubt either about the quantity of the penultimate of this word, or the

pronunciation of it in verse ; but for all this, the prose pronunciation, we are told, was *Períphas*, because the last syllable was long" (p. 91). Where are we told so ? there is nothing in the passage which either directly or indirectly restricts the expressions of Servius to prose ; but, on the contrary, every reason to suppose he meant to apply it to verse. It might be a very useful part of the labour of an annotator to point out to a scholar where the accent should be laid in reading aloud a given word, and particularly where such accent was contrary to what the analogy of his own language would have led him to expect. But what purpose could it answer to tell the reader of Virgil, that if ever he happened to meet with the word *Períphas* in prose, he ought to make it a paroxytone ? Surely the obvious meaning of "*RI habebit accentum*" is, that it shall have the accent in reading the particular verse under consideration. These remarks on *Simois* and *Períphas*, though found in our books, and I presume in the manuscripts too, in Roman characters, serve to confirm what Quinctilian says of the Latin poets using Greek nouns in their verses, notwithstanding Dr. Gally's doubt whether any of them did so : and further, that though he mentions oxytones as being so used, he only mentions them by way of example, without meaning to restrict his observations to them. A very strong inference to the same effect may be drawn from the various manuscripts of Greek poems,

in which the marks are invariably the same as those over prose works. If the accents were not to be observed in verse, why take the trouble of marking them? Surely, if a different manner of laying the accent had prevailed in poetry, the marks of poetical works would either have been omitted, or placed over the proper syllables; in which case they would have been of more service to the unlearned reader than even in prose works. And it may be observed, that if there had been so complete a difference between the accentuation of prose and verse, we might have expected that some of the many critics who have written on the subject would have pointed out this difference, and the reasons for it. But I am not aware of any writer older than Isaac Vossius, who has directly propounded this doctrine, nor of any passage of an ancient writer, from which such an inference can fairly be drawn. On the contrary, the old grammarians, when giving rules for accents, seem to fix indiscriminately on words in prose and words in verse to illustrate them. Witness what has been cited from Apollonius as to the ἀναβιβασμὸς of the accent in compound verbs (p. 134), where, among his instances, he places Νέστωρ δ' οἶος ἔφειζε. Surely he would not have done this if Primatt's theory had been true, that though it may be ἔφειζε in prose, it must be ἐφίζει in verse. Primatt's theory ought further to be suspected from the circumstance of its being confined to Greek. Considering the simi-

larity between the rhythm of Greek and Latin verse, it would be probable that any quality in the ordinary accent which made it unfit for poetic modulation, would make it equally unfit in one language as in the other. But according to Primatt, the Latin had the remarkable felicity of being “read according to quantity,” so that it was suited to the various metres which it borrowed from the Greek; while the Greeks, who invented these metres themselves, were obliged to alter their language to fit them.

Admitting therefore that the accentuation which we affix to *πραγμάτων* and *ἔδοξεν* in prose must still attach to them in verse, I shall endeavour to show that the objections to which this admission gives rise, though specious, are not insuperable; and that in poetry, as in prose, the accents may be laid according to the marks without a violation of the quantity. All the objections against reading Greek according to the marks, however variously stated, do in truth resolve themselves into one, namely, that such reading would violate quantity. Had our education been confined to prose, no one would have objected to the marks: the disinclination to pronounce *πραγμάτων* in Saint Luke is, that we shall be obliged to do the same in Euripides. I contend that in Euripides also *πραγμάτων*, though a Cretic foot, as it unquestionably is, ought still to be pronounced according to the mark; and to those who will not so pronounce it, I respectfully put the question,

why its being a Cretic necessarily makes it a proparoxytone? And I use the term “respectfully” with perfect sincerity, as I am aware that a great majority of the most learned men in England, to say nothing of other countries, would pronounce this word with the accent on the first syllable, and if asked for the reason, would answer, because the second is short. All that I beg of my readers is, that they do not take it for granted; but give themselves the trouble to consider, whether this effect upon the accent follows from the quantity, and if it does, for what reasons. I contend: First, that a short syllable may have an accent; and Secondly, that the middle of a trisyllable, though short, may have an accent. They who negative the first proposition, must maintain that accent and quantity necessarily coincide. They who negative the second, must maintain, either that accent and quantity coincide, or that Greek trisyllables are to be accented like Latin. The two propositions, though often carelessly confounded, stand upon perfectly different grounds; the first mainly depending on principles common to all languages, and the second upon arbitrary usage, in which perhaps no two languages agree.

QUANTITY DIFFERENT FROM ACCENT.

2. Let us first consider whether accent and quantity are necessarily coincident, that is, whether an accented syllable, as such, must be long,

and an unaccented syllable, as such, must be short. I use the term "coincident," because no writer, I think, has gone the length of contending that accent and quantity are strictly one and the same thing: indeed a moment's consideration must suffice to convince any one, that to raise a note or syllable, and to lengthen it, are different actions, which do not necessarily subsist together. Every nation must have both accent and quantity. To say nothing of the difference of time which usage would assign to different vowels, syllables must take more or less time in the pronunciation, accordingly as they are composed of more or fewer consonants. On the other hand, that language, to be intelligible, must have some syllables raised in sound higher than others, will not be denied; and we come to the simple question, whether, in the Greek language, the same syllables which are raised, must also take a long time to pronounce. It is generally conceded, that a word can have only one acute accent; but whether this be true or not with regard to other languages, it has been shown (p. 125) to be true in Greek. If therefore accent and quantity were necessarily coincident, it would be impossible that a word could have two long syllables. How can we suppose *ἀνθραξ* to have been pronounced? Whether you place the accent on the first or the second syllable, you leave the other syllable essentially long, because it must take a long time to pronounce it intelligibly. Before it was settled

whether ἀνθραξ was a spondee or a pyrrhic, a trochee or an iambic, and before these terms were even invented, it must have had two long syllables, of which one only had an accent. Again it has been shown (p. 104) that every word, with very few exceptions, must have an accent. How are we to suppose that the Greeks pronounced ὄδος? It must have had an accent, and that accent must have been on a short syllable. What becomes of the doctrine, that accent and quantity are coincident? Or how, if we assume that proposition, can we escape the conclusion, that ἀνθρωπων must have three accents, and ἀναλεγόμενον none at all?

I now beg the reader to turn back to the passage already cited from Dionysius (p. 28) as to the difference between the pronunciation of the long and the short vowels. The manner of giving their due length to the former is by an "extended and continuous stream of the breath." So Aristides Quintilianus: Τῶν μὲν οὖν φωνηέντων, τὰ μὲν ἐλαχίστῳ χρόνῳ προενεχθῆναι δυνάμενα, βραχέα λέγεται· τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης μείζονι, μακρά. (*De Musica*. lib. i. p. 44. ed. Meibom.) It is the length of time during which this action is continued which constitutes quantity, which is on this account called χρόνος. Accent, on the contrary (τόνος), is the stress or exertion of the voice in raising a syllable, or giving it a higher or more intense note. And, in truth, accent is so far from being the same thing with quantity, that it necessarily

precedes it, because we must first determine at what height of the voice we will pitch a note or syllable, before we can decide how long we will dwell upon it. Unless it be true in music, that a high note must be longer than a low note, it is not true in common discourse ; indeed it is evident that we have the power of dwelling a longer time upon one syllable than upon the others near it, without any reference to the height at which we pitch it, which is only saying in other words, that we may give it a long time without giving it an acute accent. Foster illustrates this with his usual felicity :—“ Notwithstanding the reluctance of Vossius, Henninius, and thousands after them, to admit the acute as compatible with a short time, if I could have them near me with a flute in my hand, or rather with an organ before us, I would engage to convince them of the consistency of these two. I would take any two keys next to each other, one of which would consequently give a sound lower than the other : suppose the word *αειδε* before us, or *ᾠσούσαν*, both which words Vossius would circumflex on the penultimate, instead of giving an acute to the first, according to our present marks : I would conformably to these marks just touch the higher key for the initial *ᾱ*, and take my finger off immediately, and then touch the lower key, on which I would dwell longer than I did on the higher, and that would give me a grave, with a long time for the syllable *EI* ; the same lower

key I would just touch again and instantly leave it, which would give me a grave with a short time for ΔΕ; ᾄειδε." (p. 181.) Primatt indeed finds fault with the argument drawn from this analogy :—" However music and grammar may have several names in common, as προσωδία, τόνος, τάσις, ἐπίτασις, &c., yet they by no means bear the same signification in one and the other ; and therefore to argue from what may be done in music to what is the case in grammar, is a very fallacious way of reasoning." (pref. xi.) But it is to be observed, that the general theory of the difference between accent or elevation, and quantity or time, which Foster illustrates by the organ, does not depend upon the particular meaning of any Greek words, but upon such an analogy between music and common discourse as might be explained in any language, and to any people conversant with the simplest elements of music. Neither does Foster predicate generally, that what is true in music is true in grammar ; but only that in each a low note may be made longer than a high one. If Foster is to be censured for such an analogy between accent and music, he must share the blame with Cicero, who draws the same analogy between common discourse and singing :—" Mira est enim natura vocis : cujus quidem e tribus omnino sonis, inflexo, acuto, gravi, tanta sit et tam suavis varietas perfecta in cantibus : est autem in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior." (*De Orat.* 17.)

Dionysius expressly says, that the difference between discourse and music consists not in quality but only in degree, the compass of the voice being less in the former than in the latter. As the passage serves admirably to illustrate the distinction between accent and quantity, and the nature of each, I shall translate the whole of it.

“ Of those things which tend to make a composition pleasing and forcible, the most important and the most striking are four ; namely, tone, rhythm, variety, and that which waits upon the other three—propriety. Under the head of what is pleasing I class beauty, and grace, and fluency, and sweetness, and naturalness, and qualities of the same nature. Under the head of what is forcible, I class grandeur, and weight, and solemnity, and dignity, and naturalness, and similar qualities ; for these seem to me the most important and leading branches under each of the two heads. These are in truth the objects, and I think I may say the only objects, of those who have taken pains in the composition of metre, or music, or prose. Many and excellent are the authors who have succeeded in each and in both kinds of composition : but I have not time at present to produce particular examples of each, for fear of being too diffuse on this part of my subject ; and besides, should it be thought right to mention any of them, and should we require instances by way of illustration, there will be a fitter opportunity when I describe the characters of harmony. What

I have said on the subject must suffice for the present. And now to pursue the path on which I set out, I return to the distinction which I have drawn between pleasing and forcible composition.

“I have said that the ear is pleased, first by tone, secondly by rhythm, thirdly by variety, and in addition to all these by propriety. And for a proof that I am right I appeal to experience, which is in accordance with the common feelings of mankind. For who is there who is not influenced and charmed by one kind of melody, without any such feeling for another? or who is not soothed by one rhythm, and disgusted with another? I myself have observed in crowded theatres, filled with a mixed and unrefined multitude, how naturally we all fall in with correctness in tone and rhythm. I have seen a harper of merit and reputation hissed by the audience when he has touched one string out of tune; and the same thing has happened to a flute-player, however well he handled his instrument, if from any failure, either in the manner of his blowing, or in the proper disposition of his lips, he produces a harsh or discordant note; and yet if you were to ask any one of them all to take the instrument and do that himself which he is criticizing in the artist, he would not be able: why? because the one is the result of science, which is shared among few; and the other of sensation, which nature has bestowed upon all. And so of rhythm:

I have seen the whole audience disgusted and indignant when a performer has made a beat, or a movement, or a note out of time, and so spoiled the rhythm. And as what is correct in tone and rhythm has this power of delighting and soothing, so also variety and propriety have the same charm and the same influence; where they are produced in perfection they please, and where they fail, they disgust us. Can there be a question of it? Take as an instance instrumental music, or charm in singing, or elegance in dancing, correct in every other respect, but deficient in fitting variety, or wanting due propriety: we are at once tired of it, and its not being adapted to the subject takes away all our pleasure in it. And here I am using an illustration by no means foreign to the subject; for the science of prose composition is in some sort musical, differing from that of vocal and instrumental music rather in degree than in quality: for here too the words possess tone, and rhythm, and variety, and propriety; so that in this also the ear is charmed by tone, and soothed by rhythm, and seeks for variety, but above all desires propriety, the only difference being the degree in which these qualities subsist. Now the tone or modulation of common discourse is measured as nearly as can be by one interval, which is called the diapente, and is not heightened to an acute beyond three tones and a half, nor depressed to a grave beyond the same compass: not that every word in a

single member of a sentence is uttered with the same accent, but one with an acute, another with a grave, another with both. Of those which have both, some have the grave combined in the same syllable with the acute, and these we call circumflex; others again have them separate in their respective places, each preserving its own nature. And in disyllables there is no middle space of acuteness or gravity; but in polysyllables of whatever length, there is, among many grave, only one syllable which has the acute accent. But instrumental and vocal music has more intervals, not merely the diapente, but beginning with the diapason, it extends to the diapente, and the diatessaron, and the diatonon, and the hemitonion, and some think they can even distinguish it as far as the diesis. And it makes the words subservient to the music, and not the music to the words, as is clear from many examples, and particularly from the air, which Euripides in the *Orestes* puts into the mouth of Electra, where she addresses the chorus:—

Σῖγα, σῖγα, λευκὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης

Τιθεῖτε, μὴ κτυπεῖτε.

Ἀποπρόβατ' ἐκεῖσ' ἀπόπροθι κοίτας.

For here the *σῖγα, σῖγα λευκὸν* is set to one note, though each of the three words has both acute and grave accents. And the *ἀρβύλης* has the third syllable set to the same note as the middle one, though it is impossible that a single word can have two acute accents. In *τιθεῖτε* the

first becomes graver, and the two next acute and set to the same note. In *κτυπεῖτε* the circumflex is annihilated, for the two syllables are pronounced with the same accent. And lastly the *ἀποπρόβατε* has not the acute accent on its middle syllable, but the accent of the third syllable is brought down to the fourth.

“And the same remark applies also to rhythm; for ordinary discourse never forces nor displaces the times either of a noun or a verb, but preserves the natural quantity of long and short syllables just as it found them. But rhythm and music change them, sometimes by adding to them, sometimes by taking away from them; so as often to make them exactly contrary to what they were. For they do not make the times subservient to the syllables, but the syllables to the times.” (xi. 70.)

There are particular expressions in this passage which it is difficult to understand, and particularly for those who are ignorant of music: but the result of the whole, as far as regards the present question, is very clear: namely, that there is a marked distinction between *μέλος*, or tone, which has to do with acuteness, and rhythm, which has to do with time. And the same author, in the next section, expresses the same distinction, though more concisely, yet with no less clearness, laying it down among the rules of composition: *Μήτε ὀλιγοσύλλαβα πολλὰ ἐξῆς λαμβάνειν (κόπτεται γὰρ ἡ ἀκρόασις), μήτε πολυσύλλαβα πλείω*

τῶν ἱκανῶν, μηδὲ δὴ ὁμοιότονα παρ' ὁμοιότονοις, μηδὲ ὁμοιοχρονα παρ' ὁμοιοχρόνοις. (xii. 82.)

Omnium longitudinum et brevitatum in sonis, sicut acutarum graviumque vocum iudicium natura in auribus nostris collocavit. (Cic. *De Orat.* 51.)

Ταῦτα δὲ διαφέρει σχήμασί τε τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τόποις, καὶ δασύτητι καὶ ψιλότητι, καὶ μήκει καὶ βραχύτητι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι, καὶ τῷ μέσῳ. (*Aristot. Poet. s.* 34.)

Συζυγοῦσι γὰρ αἱ φωναὶ κατὰ τε ποιότητα τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ κατὰ ποσότητα τῶν συλλαβῶν, καὶ φαίνεται ὅτι καὶ κατὰ χρόνον καὶ τάσιν. (*Apollo-nius*, ii. 5. p. 105.)

Nam prima est observatio recte pronuntiandi, æqualitas, ne sermo subsultet imparibus spatiis ac sonis, miscens longa brevibus, gravia acutis, elata submissis. (*Quinctil.* xi. 3. 43.)

Sextus, after contending that the long vowels differ so much from the short, that the real number of vowels may be considered as ten rather than seven, goes on by parity of reasoning to show that a difference in accent or spirit would make a further distinction between them : Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐ δύο μόνον ὑπειλήφασιν εἶναι προσωδίας γραμματικῶν παῖδες, τὴν τε μακρὰν καὶ βραχεῖαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀξεῖαν, βαρεῖαν, περισπωμένην, δασεῖαν, ψιλήν· ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποδεδειγμένων φωναέντων ἔχον τινὰ τούτων κατ' ἰδίαν προσωδίαν, γενήσεται στοιχεῖον. (*Adv. Gramm.* c. 5.) Sextus here uses the term *προσωδία* in its extended sense, for all modifications of pronouncing a syllable, whether as to height, length, or aspiration :

it is more commonly used by grammarians to express height, or accent, being the modification which strikes most sensibly on the ear.

It is impossible to read these passages, without seeing at once, that quantity and accent were considered by all these authors as entirely distinct from each other. Nor am I aware of any expression of a single ancient author, from which it can be inferred that accent is identical with quantity. Primatt, who most strongly maintains what he calls the lengthening power of the acute accent, says :—" That accent and quantity are two very different things, I readily confess ; for else the ancients had been mistaken in the number of the *προσωδιαί*, and Aristotle would not have made acuteness and gravity of different consideration from length and shortness." (p. 68.)

Those who contend that the acute accent gives a long time to the syllable on which it falls, quote a remarkable passage of the scholiast on Hephæstion. The scholium in question relates to that part of the text in which Hephæstion, having disposed of the definition of a long syllable, and that of a short syllable, proceeds to treat of the common syllable, which, he says, occurs in three modes. Upon which the scholiast remarks that Hephæstion has only mentioned three modes of a common syllable, whereas there are in truth twelve ; two which sink a long syllable into a short one, and ten which raise a short syllable into a long one. He then proceeds to discuss them, and having disposed of the two first, by

which a long syllable is turned into a short one, as in

*Οὐ σύ μοι αἰτιή ἐσσι,
Πάτροκλέ μοι δειλῆ,*

he proceeds to the remaining ten, by which a short syllable is turned into a long one : 1. When a word ends with a short syllable, and the following word begins with a vowel ; as,

*Οἱ δὲ μέγα ἰάχοντες,
Νέστορα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχή.*

2. “The second mode of elevating a short syllable into a long one, is by means of the acute ; for the acute of itself, being placed over short vowels or common vowels made short, lengthens them, as in

Τρῶες δ' ἐβρίγησαν ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν.

Observe the last foot is a pyrrhic ; but since it has the acute placed over the O, it has been traditionally received as a metrical trope or change, the acute lengthening the O, and not unseasonably ; for the acute, being extended with elevation, seems, both by its sound and by its very position and the delineation of its mark, to change the power of a short syllable. Now, the acute is of such a nature and power, as not only to lengthen a short syllable over which it is placed, but that even when placed on the syllable before, or the syllable after, it can impart time to a short syllable ; as in *Η ναύτησι τέρας*. The syllable ΠΑΣ, though short, is lengthened by the acute on the preceding syllable. So when placed on the following syllable, as in

Αἴσιμα παρειπῶν, ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν,

the acute of *ἔθεν* lengthens the ΠΟ, which is short. Whence the verse which appears to labour under the defect called lameness, gets rid, as far as is possible, of the defect by the assistance of the acute : but the second foot, which entirely wants assistance, remains subject to the aforesaid defect of lameness; for the Α in *παρειπών* has not the assistance of any one of the ten methods by which a short syllable is elevated into a long one, as the Ο next to *ἔθεν* was lengthened by the following acute. And it is allowed to use all these ten methods ; but to us it is allowed to use out of the ten only one, which we will shortly mention."

3. The third method is by means of the circumflex, whether on the preceding or on the following syllable, for it cannot be on the short syllable itself, as in

Πάντη ἐποιχόμενοι, πρὶν αὐτ' ἐν χερσὶ γυναίκων,
Οἰκῆας ἄλοχόν τε φίλην.

4. The fourth is by the aspirate, which lengthens the syllable over which it is placed and those which immediately precede and follow it, as in

"Ἐως ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
Ἐλπομαι ἐκτελεέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν ὦδε.

(*Schol. Hephest.* p. 148. ed. Gaisford.)

Here the catalogue ends abruptly, leaving us entirely at a loss as to the other six methods by which a short syllable may be lengthened. But does this passage, when taken together with the whole context, establish the position, that an acute accent necessarily gives a duration to every

syllable on which it falls? That it cannot at least be understood to mean that it does so to the extent of altering the quantity is clear, without going further, from the very verse quoted; for if the accent necessarily makes long the first syllable of ὄφιν, it must have the same effect on the first of ἴδον and the second of αἰόλον, which would only be to help the metre in one foot by spoiling it in two others. Besides which, if we defer to the authority of the scholiast on this second canon or mode of lengthening syllables, I do not see how we can reject it as to the others. Now, to say nothing of the first, according to which the final syllables of ἐρρίγησαν and αἰόλον would be lengthened, we must come to the conclusion that any syllable, however short, is made long by the acute accent or the aspirate spirit falling on it, or by an acute, or circumflex, or aspirate, immediately preceding or following it; which is absurd, as it would vitiate the metre of every line, I might almost say every syllable, of every Greek poem extant. But the scholiast is really not chargeable with any such absurdity. He is speaking of the modes, not of making syllables long, but of making them common: in other words, he is discussing a point on which modern scholars are extremely ignorant, in what cases the poet may take liberties with the quantity, and in what he may not. That this is his object, appears not only from the whole context taken together, but more particularly from the

expression ἔξεστι κεχρηθῆσθαι, that it is "allowed to use," these methods. What can be the meaning of "allowed" if the accent necessarily makes long the syllable on which it falls? If it be long, no matter from what cause, it must be used as long, and no question can arise whether it be allowed to use it so or not. So that, on the whole, the real meaning of the phrases *μηκύνει* and *χαριεῖσθαι χρόνον*, seems to be, that the accent and the aspirate too give the poet an excuse for using a short syllable in a place where the metre would require a long one, and that not only as to the syllable on which they fall, but those which immediately precede and follow it. And taken in this sense the proposition may be true; at least we ought not to stigmatize it as absurd, till we are better acquainted with the principles on which the Greeks modulated their metrical feet. Even though we may not precisely understand the reasons for the doctrines laid down, we may pretty clearly infer from the different verses cited by the scholiast, that he is not discussing the ordinary effect of accent or spirit on ordinary syllables, but that he is giving technical rules for what we are apt vaguely to call poetic licenses: and his authority would be considerable, if we could be certain that the passage came from the pen of the original scholiast of Hephæstion, who is commonly supposed to have been no less a critic than Longinus himself. But this may be doubted, because we find the same passage, al-

most word for word, and terminating in the same abrupt manner, in the treatise of Draco, who wrote before Longinus. (*Draco De Metris*, ed. Hermann. Lips. 1812. p. 6.) This reason alone would of course be conclusive, if we were sure that all this treatise was from the pen of Draco ; but there are evidently some interpolations, of which this may be one.

It may be observed, that the scholiast on Hephæstion, in a subsequent passage in which he is enumerating six different defects of verses (πάθη τῶν στίχων), gives this same verse as an instance of a μείουρος or verse defective in its termination ; but he adds—Τούτων μὲν οὖν τῶν ἑξ τρόπων ὅσοι δύνανται ἢ διὰ κοινῆς συλλαβῆς ἢ διὰ συνιζήσεως θεραπεύεσθαι, οὐ κυρίως ἂν κληθεῖεν πάθη. (p. 183.)—

Athenæus calls this line a μείουρος in a passage which will be more fully mentioned hereafter ; and so does Terentianus :

Si nusquam hoc aliquis lectum putat, ecce dabitur,
Versus Homericus Ausonio resonans ita modo,
Quem μείουρον Achaica gens vocitare solita est :
Attoniti Troes viso serpente pavitant.

Apud Pustch, p. 2425.

Not one, I believe, of the writers against the marks has ventured broadly to lay down the proposition, that accent and quantity are identical ; but almost all of them make such objections to the marks as are of no weight at all, unless that proposition be assumed. Vossius, whom Dr.

Foster considers the earliest writer of that school, does not condescend to lay down any rules at all, but contents himself with marking three lines of Homer with what he calls the true accents; leaving us to affix the accents to the rest of the works of Homer and other Greek poets as well as we can, by analogy to those which he has vouchsafed to us. The three lines which he marks according to his own dogma are as follow:—

Ἡελίος δ' ἀγοροῦσε, λιπὼν περικάλλεα λίμνην,
 Οὐρανὸν ἐς πολυχάλκον, ἰν' ἀθανатоῖσι φαείνη,
 Καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζειδῶρον ἀροῦραν.

De Poëmatum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi. Oxon, 1673, p. 19.

He appears to have wished to identify accent and quantity, as far as it was possible, by placing his marks on long syllables, and on long syllables only, but the structure of the language forces him into three inconsistencies in as many lines. The first syllables of ἡελίος, ἀθανатоῖσι, and θνητοῖσι are left without marks, and necessarily so, as Vossius was no doubt aware of the rule that no word could have two acute accents. And yet it is evident that these syllables are long, and so to be accounted in the metre. Then his marks on ἐς and ἐπὶ are inconsistent: ἐς being long, ought to have been marked. If it be answered that ἐς is long only by position, that is also true of the last syllable of ἐπὶ on which he leaves the mark. There is perhaps no inconsistency in his leaving the last syllables of λίμνην and φαείνη without a mark; because these, being final syllables, may

be indifferently taken as long or short : but how would he have treated these words in the middle of a verse ? he must have left the final syllable, although long, without a mark. Again, how would he have marked ἐπι if it had not happened to be made long by position ? how, for instance, would he mark the preposition in

Ἰθάκην κατὰ κοίραν ἐοῦσιν

Here he must either have placed the mark on a short syllable, or deprived the word of accent altogether, which would be contrary not only to the general analogy of the language, but directly at variance with the whole body of Grecian grammarians, who disputed, as we have seen, on which syllable the accent in such cases ought to be, but who all agreed that it ought to have an accent. Vossius does not appear to have embraced our theory that all words but monosyllables are barytones : on the contrary, he leaves the accent on the last syllables of λιπὼν and ἐπι, probably because they are long, and to ἡλιός he has given an accent on the last syllable :—a distinction, which, as it never possessed before, it does not seem long to have retained, the pronunciation of our schools and universities being invariably ἡέλιος. Nor does he confine this fabrication of oxytones to the Greek language, where it is merely misplaced, but extends it to the Latin, where it is utterly inadmissible, unless we suppose, with Vossius, that the authority of Vossius is superior to that of Quintilian. He would accordingly lay the

accent on the last syllable of every pentameter verse as,

Victorem victæ succubuisse querór;

“Notwithstanding the bold assertion of some learned men, that no words in Latin have the long accent (*longum accentum*) on the last syllable.” (p. 33.) Now the joining these words is of itself sufficient to show that Vossius confused the notions of two things essentially different: the expression “long accent” being as unmeaning as if a man should say that the nave of St. Paul’s is so many square yards higher than the Thames.

Primatt is an author of a very different stamp from Vossius; instead of boldly deciding, according to his own preconceived notions, he had the patience to search through the works of the ancient writers on the subject, and his book has this peculiar convenience, that he quotes his authorities in chronological order. Unfortunately however Primatt began his inquiry, as the majority of modern scholars must, with an ear unconsciously wedded to Latin rhythm. The result was, that he could not, on the one hand, refuse his assent to the testimonies which he found in favour of a pronunciation according to the marks; nor could he, on the other, divest his mind, or rather his ear, of its predilection for the Latin modulation. How were two so opposite ideas to be reconciled? By assuming that the marks

were to be followed in prose only. The attempt to reconcile these two theories has, as might be expected, forced Primatt into many inconsistencies, and thrown much obscurity into his otherwise valuable treatise. Primatt, though admitting that accent and quantity are two very different things, contends, that "as it is natural in the raising of the voice to extend it, and in the falling of it to contract it, so in this respect accent seems to be confounded with quantity" (p. 69); and he states that the ancient grammarians had no conception that there could be any elevation of voice without an addition of time (p. 71). He touches very briefly on this point in the body of his work: but after finishing his book, he was led by a perusal of Dr. Foster's 'Essay' to enter further into the subject; and accordingly in his preface, which was written after the book itself, he brings forward fresh authorities for his theory. I do not think it necessary to cite his authorities, most of which are referred to in other parts of this Essay. A great part of his reasoning consists of instances in which different writers have, as he contends, used the words *τάσις*, *ἐπίτασις*, and *ἐπιτείνω*, in such a sense as shows that they attached to these words the meaning of extent or time.

Τείνω signifies to stretch, which was no doubt also the sense of *τάω*, though this last word, or more correctly speaking this form of it, had gone out of use before the time of Homer, who uses

ταύω for it, in its primitive sense of stretching the string of a musical instrument :—

Ὡς δ' ἄνῃρ, φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς,
Ρηϊδίως ἐτάανυσσε νέψ' ἐπὶ κόλλοπι χορδῇν.—*Od.* Φ. 406.

Now, the effect of stretching a string is, to make it produce a sound by vibration when touched, which sound will be higher or lower in proportion as the string is stretched. So that it is easy and natural to apply the term *τάσις*, which represents the mechanical action, to the sound which is the effect of it: and *τάσις*, when once applied to the sound of a stringed instrument, would without any violence be used also of the notes of a wind instrument or of the human voice. And in this last sense it is commonly used by the grammarians to signify accent; as is also *τόνος*, which is derived from *τείνω*, and may be generally considered as synonymous with *τάσις*, as we have already seen in various passages from authors who were treating of accent, without any mention of time or quantity.

Primatt further cites Hesychius on the word *ἐπιτείνειν*, which he interprets *μεγαλῦναι*, *μακρῦναι*: and on *ἐπιτείνεται*, which he renders *ἐπὶ τῷ ὄντι πλεονάζει*, ἢ αὖξει, ἢ εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἄγεται. But these general expressions bear but little on the niceties of this question. It is natural enough, in a popular sense, to confound length and size: for though it be true that an object does not by being stretched really increase in bulk, yet it seems to the eye to do so; so that we come to use it for actual

increase in size, as when we say that Augustus extended the Roman empire. But such terms cannot prove that whatever is stretched becomes larger, and still less that whoever uses the expression of ἐπιτείνειν or ἐπίτασις when speaking of acuteness either in music or in grammar, means to include the idea of time in these terms. The interpretation which we find in the 'Etymologicum Magnum' of ἐπίτασις and ἄνεσις, instead of favouring Primatt's argument, makes directly against it, as the etymologist evidently applies the expressions μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον to the intensity and not to the duration of sound :—Επίτασις καὶ ἄνεσις, οἷον τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον· ταῦτα δὲ εἴρηται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν χορδῶν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀποτεينوμένη σφοδρὸν ἀποτελεῖ ψόφον· ἡ δὲ παρειμένη ἐλάττονα. But though I think that Primatt has failed in his attempt to prove that ancient writers attached the idea of quantity, that is, duration or extension of time, to the terms τάσις and ἐπίτασις, I am far from wishing to be understood that there would have been any absurdity in their using these terms to express that idea, if they had been pleased to do so ; and their limiting them to the idea of acuteness, as I think they have, may be considered as purely arbitrary : indeed it seems more natural to apply the term "stretching" to duration than to acuteness ; because in the latter case the acuteness of sound is only one among other qualities of a stretched string, which is not obvious at first, and which we do not learn

at all till we touch it ; whereas, we see at once that a string by being stretched becomes longer, and we readily transfer the same expression to the action of lengthening a note or syllable by a protracted action of the windpipe. Accordingly we have already seen (p. 28), that Dionysius applies the terms τεταμένον αὐλὸν τοῦ πνεύματος to the action by which syllables are made long in pronunciation. And though τόνος and τάσις are, I believe, always used by grammarians for accent, we find the former expression used by Herodotus as synonymous for metre, which was a modification of quantity :—ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ (*Clio*, 47) ; ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ (*Ibid.* 174). On the whole it is obvious, considering how words in all languages come to be used in senses quite different from their primary meaning, that we can never safely infer from an author using a given term, that he meant to attach to it an idea in accordance with its root : nor is there any reason to suppose that the Attic grammarians, when using τάσις in its popular sense, attached to it any idea of extension.

Primatt quotes a passage from Dionysius Thrax :—Τόνος, πρὸς ὃν ἄδομεν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν εὐρυτέραν ποιοῦμεν. But this definition of tone, if it be correct, would not show that accent gives quantity, as the term εὐρυτέραν does not seem applicable to either height or length, but rather to aspiration. He might have found a more correct definition from the same author, and quoted from the same

source, in the body of his own work (p. 126) :—
 Ἔστι τόνος, ἐπίτασις, ἡ ἀνεσις, ἡ μεσότης συλλαβῶν
 εὐφωνίαν ἔχουσα. (*Wetsten. Append.* p. 169. ex MS.
 Dion. Thra. in *Biblioth. Medic.*) But since the
 publication of Primatt's work, we owe to the in-
 dustry of Bekker a reprint of a manuscript of Dio-
 nysius Thrax, in which we find a definition more
 full and more in accordance with the expressions
 of other grammarians :—Τόνος ἐστι φωνῆς ἀπήχησις
 ἐναρμονίου, ἡ κατὰ ἀνάτασιν ἐν τῇ ὀξείᾳ, ἡ κατὰ
 ὁμαλισμὸν ἐν τῇ βαρείᾳ, ἡ κατὰ περὶ κλασιν ἐν τῇ
 περισπωμένῃ. (*Dionysii Thracis Grammatica in Bek-
 ker. Anecd. Græc.* p. 629.) I cannot think that,
 on the whole, Primatt has established his position,
 that the acute accent gives time or extension to
 a short syllable on which it falls ; nor do I think
 that that proposition is true in any the least de-
 gree ; but we shall see, when we come to the
 subject of Greek verse, that it may be true to
 a certain extent, without a violation of metre.

I cannot quit his work without remarking how
 irresistible must have been the weight of evi-
 dence on his mind in favour of a pronunciation
 according to the marks ; since it drove him to
 follow the marks at least in prose, even when
 they gave extension, as he thought, to short
 syllables. Primatt, in reading St. Luke, would
 certainly have said *πραγμάτων*, though he must
 have confessed, if consistent with his theory, that
 the word by such a pronunciation lost its proper
 quantity, and ceased to sound like a Cretic.

Unless therefore all the Greek and Latin writers whose works have been cited on this subject, were utterly mistaken, it is clear that they at least had a way of pronouncing ἔδοξεν and πραγμάτων according to their marks, and yet making the former an Amphibrachys, and the latter a Cretic. In πραγμάτων no particular care would be required to give length to the first syllable; because if the Γ and the Μ be both properly enunciated, that syllable must take up some time: the second syllable they would raise without dwelling on it, and pass on immediately to the third, on which they would expend a long-continued action of the breath. And what is to prevent our doing the same, if we will but give ourselves the trouble? I feel well assured that, with a little practice, the ear might be accustomed to the distinction between long and short syllables as such without reference to accent at all; and that it is a fault in our present system of education that no such distinction is sufficiently attended to. Buttmann warns us against this fault, and teaches us that we ought to distinguish the accented long vowel (ῶ or ὦ) from the unaccented (grave ω), as in ἄνθρωπος, and yet without reading this last as a short O: and he adds, that we may accentuate the first syllable in ἄνθρωπος and yet lengthen the second, as we do in German in many words, as *dltvāter*, *dlmōsen* (*Griech. Gramm.* s. 9. p. 25., 15th ed. Berlin, 1838.).

GREEK ACCENTS DIFFERENT FROM LATIN.

3. I have thought it necessary to enter at some length into the distinction between accent and quantity, in order to guard against the fallacies which spring from an assumption of their identity, or, what is practically the same thing, their necessary coincidence; and I think I have succeeded at least so far as to show that there is no inherent or necessary principle of accent, or of quantity, which obliges us to conclude that a short syllable, as such, must be grave. This step in the argument I will suppose then to be conceded, as in truth, I believe it readily will be, by a great majority of English scholars. Any objection which remains, after making this concession, against raising the middle syllable of *πραγμαῶτων*, must be founded, not on the nature, but on the position of that syllable. English scholars in general have no hesitation in laying an accent on the first syllable of *μάτην*, whether in verse or in prose; so that they without scruple pronounce *καὶ μάτην* according to the marks, though at the same time they acknowledge that these two words together form a foot of exactly the same quantity as *πραγμαῶτων*. In the Homeric line—

Ὡς ἔφατ' ἔδδ' εἰσεν δ' ὁ γέρων—

none of my countrymen, as far as my observation goes, have adopted the accentuation of Vossius, who without doubt would have made *γερώων* an

oxytone ; but all pronounce it according to its mark. Suppose the article and noun incorporated into one word, and the verse to run—

Ὡς ἔφαρ' ἔδδειςεν δ' ὀγέρων ;—

I feel persuaded that they would neglect the mark, and make it a proparoxytone, ὀγέρων. Now it is obvious that this distinction cannot depend upon the nature of the syllable itself, because that still remains the third of a dactyl, and must be equally short whether making part of a word of three syllables or of a word of two. So that the objection must depend on the position, and not on the nature of the syllable ; that is, it must be founded on the assumption that a short syllable, though at the beginning of a trisyllable it may be acute, must in the middle of a trisyllable be grave. But do we find any authority for this proposition as applied to Greek ? on the contrary, there is scarcely a page on accent in the Greek writers, from Plato to Athenæus, where it is not either expressly or by clear implication contradicted. Look, for instance, at what Apollonius says (p. 127) on the accent of ἐγγυτέρω, and what can have induced the most learned men of England to maintain that a penultimate in Greek, because it is short, must be grave ? I fancy that an Englishman who had been taken to Athens or Corfu at ten years old, and there taught Greek, without learning Latin, would be utterly at a loss to answer this question. To

him it would be inconceivable that scholars who had read, and some of them edited, rules for Greek accents, and who were constantly using books with marks in accordance with those rules, should notwithstanding adopt a pronunciation entirely at variance with them. And yet the reason why they do so is a very simple one, that their ears get the better of their understanding. Having learned Latin first, they early become so wedded to the accentual modulation of that language, that they cannot bear to go against it in Greek. Having always pronounced *tyránnus*, they shrink from *τύραννος* as a false accent, or, as they call it, a false quantity: and because *máximos* is a proparoxytone, *πραγμάτων* offends their ear like a false note in music. And so, though they never distinctly predicate that the Greek accents depend on the same principles as the Latin, they do in fact pronounce Greek in the same manner as they would if they had persuaded themselves of the truth of that proposition. I am inclined to think that the disinclination to pronounce Greek by the marks is to be attributed to an unconscious assumption of this principle, rather than to the adoption of any express theory propounded either by British or continental writers. Greek literature, being first introduced by the Greeks who fled from the Turkish invasion, would doubtless be at first taught with their own accents, which we know corresponded with the marks; and so it probably

long continued. The dispute between the Rëuchlinians and Erasmians in the sixteenth century was confined to the pronunciation of the letters ; though Reuchlin and Erasmus both learned Greek from Greeks, and therefore doubtless with accents in accordance with the marks. Dr. Foster says that he is not able to discover that the faithfulness and propriety of the Greek accentual marks were ever much doubted before the time of Vossius. (*Introduct.* p. xii.) But though Vossius, who lived much in this country, and published his treatise at Oxford, may have contributed to discredit the marks, it seems more natural to suppose that the pronunciation of Greek which prevails to this day, has slid in gradually by transferring the Latin accents to Greek : particularly as we have not followed Vossius in making oxytones of words ending with a long syllable. In this country the study of Latin usually precedes that of Greek, which is not begun till after the ear has been accustomed to the modulation of Latin ; so that nothing can be more natural than to apply the early-learned accents of the one to the pronunciation of the other : and this is still more easily done when we come to metre. Here we find the closest analogy between the two languages ; the rules of quantity the same ; no species of verse composed in the one which may not be fitted to the rhythm of the other. The mistake of supposing, or rather insensibly assuming, that the accents were

also the same, is therefore not surprising: it has obtained a firm footing in our schools and universities, which it will maintain until there shall be sufficiently frequent and general communication with Greece to rid us of the fallacy; which is so much the more difficult to expose, because it lurks in the sense and not in the understanding. And this is the great difficulty which I have always found in discussing the point with my own countrymen, that they are prejudiced, not by a theory, for that may be stated and refuted, but by a matter of taste, though mistaken taste, from which it is not easy to obtain a fair hearing. They will not endure an argument, which is to end in their pronouncing *πραγματων*: their ears, they say, are sufficient to show that that cannot be correct, and if it is not, it matters not much where the fallacy lies. I think scarcely any one who will have the patience to state and consider the question, whether Greek and Latin accents depend on the same principles, will end by deciding that question in the affirmative. Besides the striking difference already pointed out, that the Greek has oxytones while the Latin has none, it has been shown that the rule in Greek for the accent of trisyllables not being oxytones is, that it depends on the quantity of the last syllable. How is the rule in Latin? We learn this from Quintilian, who disposes of the whole subject of accentuation in a very few sentences: — “Cujus difficilior apud Græcos observatio est

(quia plura illis loquendi genera, quas διαλέκτους vocant: et quod alias vitiosum, interim alias rectum est), apud nos verò brevissima ratio. Namque in omni voce, acuta intra numerum trium syllabarum continetur, sive hæ sunt in verbo solæ sive ultimæ: et in his aut proxima extremæ aut ab eo tertia. Trium porro de quibus loquor, media longa aut acuta aut flexa erit: eodem loco brevis utique gravem habebit sonum, ideoque positam ante se, id est ab ultima tertiam, acuet." (I. 5, 29.)

Here we find a most simple rule for the accentuation of Latin trisyllables; nor is it necessary to add the qualification, not being oxytones, there being no oxytones in Latin except monosyllables. There is so far a similarity between the two languages, that in both the accent is confined within the three last syllables, and in both it depends on the quantity; but there is this striking difference, that in Latin it depends, not on the quantity of the last syllable, but of the penultimate or middle syllable, which if long is either acute or circumflex, if short is grave, and therefore heightens the syllable before it, that is, the third from the end, or as we commonly say, the antepenultimate, whether that antepenultimate itself be long or short, for so Quintilian must certainly be understood; otherwise he would have qualified his proposition. In *mēritus*, because the RI is short, the ME, though also short, is accented. And this code, though contained in so few words, is really diffuse.

“ In trisyllabis media brevis gravis,” would have been sufficient to those who knew that the Latin has no oxytones but monosyllables, and that every word must have one acute accent. Take *maximos* for instance, where is the acute to be placed? not on the last, for it cannot be an oxytone; not on the middle, because “ media brevis gravis;” therefore necessarily on the first.

But does Quintilian lay this down as a rule of universal application? does he tell us that it agrees with the natural quantity of syllables, or with the inherent principles of rhythm? no such thing: on the contrary, he mentions incidentally that the subject in Greek was one of more difficulty: and though he instances the variety of dialects as a cause of the difficulty, there is no reason to suppose that he intended that as the only cause; nor if he did, could we safely infer that any one of the various dialects, and least of all the Attic, which we are more immediately discussing, agreed in accentuation with the Latin. And so far from the Latin accentuation being founded on any eternal principles of rhythm, Quintilian declares that the Greek accents were so much sweeter than the Latin, that his countrymen introduced Greek words into their verses for the purpose of improving their modulation. So that it seems impossible to predicate that the accentuation of Latin and Greek trisyllables depends on the same principle, without stating, as Dr. Gally has roundly done, that Quintilian was

mistaken in the former, or that modern scholars understand the latter better than Apollonius. And in truth, though most of the writers against the marks have evidently the Latin modulation in their ears, there is none, I believe, except Henninius who has broadly ventured to lay down the proposition that Greek and Latin must be accented in the same manner. Henninius does not seem to have troubled himself to investigate the works of Greek grammarians, but he propounds four rules for the pronunciation of Greek, Latin, and Arabic, which he pronounces to be infallible, by which I suppose he means, that they agree with the eternal fitness of things. “Modulatio ergo linguæ Arabicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, his quatuor regulis infallibilibus continetur:— I. Omnis vox monosyllaba modulationem habet in sua vocali: ut, φῶς, νοῦς, ἄλς, &c.; mons, fons, ros, nix, &c. II. Omnis vox dissyllaba modulationem habet in syllaba priori: ut, λόγοι, ὄδοι, φῶνη (quamvis ita notentur accentu, ὁδοί, φωνή, &c.); móntes, fóntes, níves, &c. III. Omnis vox polysyllaba penultimam longam modulatur: ut, ἄνθρωπος, τύπτωμαι (lege ἀνθρώπος, τυπτῶμαι); Græcórum, jucúnda, &c. IV. Omnis vox polysyllaba penultima brevi modulatur antepenultimam: ut, dóminus; ἀλόγων (lege ἄλογων), &c.” (Henrici Christiani Henninii Ἑλληνισμὸς Ὁρθῶδός, seu Græcam Linguam non esse pronuntiandam secundum Accentus, Dissertatio Paradoxa. *Tract. ad Rhen.* 1684. ss. 113—117.) If we have

indeed followed any continental writer in our pronunciation of Greek, Henninius can make a better claim to be our leader than Vossius; for certainly these four "infallible" rules are precisely those by which we are guided: but we shall find, on comparison, that they agree exactly with Quintilian's rules for Latin, and for that very reason are certainly wrong in Greek, whatever they may be in Arabic. It is not a little remarkable that Henninius in selecting the word *τυπτωμαι* as one of the illustrations of his third rule has adopted the very accentuation cited as an instance of barbarism by Herodian, who had not the advantage of having discovered any infallible rules on the subject: but let us ask, who is the more likely to be mistaken, the Greek or the German?

It would seem, from Henninius styling his essay "Paradoxa," that it was opposed to the general pronunciation of his own countrymen at least at that time: if the essay of Vossius had produced any effect in discrediting the marks, that of Henninius may be supposed to have completed the work, by abolishing them not only where they interfered with his accentuation of trisyllables, in which he and Vossius agreed, but also where they were found on the last syllable, so that every word in Greek, as in Latin, "*in gravem vel duas graves cadat semper.*" And I must confess, that this theory seems, if not more reasonable, at least more consistent, than

that of Vossius, who, though he treats the accent as giving length, is constrained to admit short syllables with an accent, and long syllables without one. But Henninius and his school are entangled in no such difficulty: they lay the accent on the first syllable of *máximos* and *πράγματων*, not because every short syllable must needs be grave, but because in a trisyllable, “media brevis gravis:” and they lay the accent on the first of *dómos* and *γέρον* without any inconsistency. Of all the writers on the subject Primatt is the most inconsistent, transferring in verse the acute accent from the second to the first syllable of *πραγμάτων*, for the express reason that it gives length, and yet reading verse according to the Henninian system, which freely admits this lengthening acute in every iambic disyllable and in every anapæstic trisyllable. I say Henninian: for though Primatt nowhere professes himself a disciple of Henninius, he evidently adopts in Greek verse the accents of Latin, which he speaks of as having been read, “according to quantity;” whereas, if by this expression it is meant that the acute accent and the long time always coincide, it is obvious that the Latin can no more claim to be read according to quantity than the Greek. Accordingly, in the passage of Aristotle which has been already discussed, Primatt thought that there could be no accentual sophism on the word *διδόμεν* in verse, because, whether it stood for the infinitive or for

the first person plural, it would in verse be equally accented *δίδομεν*. But why could not it be *διδόμεν* in verse? because the acute accent would lengthen the ΔO , and so spoil the verse: this must be his answer, unless we are to suppose that all the pages which he has written on the power of the acute are to be taken to be without meaning. But does not the acute lengthen the ΔI in one case as much as the ΔO in the other? and in a place where a dactyl is required, does it not spoil the verse as much by lengthening the second syllable as by lengthening the third? Vossius would no doubt have avoided this inconsistency by boldly affixing his "longum accentum" to the last syllable and marking it *διδομέν*. Primatt unfortunately had read too much of Apollonius and Herodian to think of accenting the last syllable of any but a contract verb, and so becomes constrained to lengthen a short syllable. In short, in poetry, Primatt's course is lamentably unsteady, always endeavouring, but in vain, to steer between the Henninian Scylla and the Vossian Charybdis. However natural therefore it may be for us to say *πράγματων* because we say *máximos*, there is in truth no authority for our doing so older than the seventeenth century: while the whole stream of authors from the earliest time pours in a flood of testimony the other way. And however paradoxical it may seem, it may I think fairly be said, that it is sufficient to count these authors without reading them, to persuade ourselves of

the point I am now contending for. If every fragment of every writer on Greek accent had been lost, and there had remained only an authentic catalogue of them, stating the number of pages they consisted of, though in that case we should have been left in ignorance what Greek accents were, we should at least have known that they could not have been like the Latin, the whole code whereof, "*brevissima ratio*," as Quintilian calls it, is comprehended in a few lines. We might have inferred with tolerable certainty, that a subject on which there had existed disputes between Apollonius and Herodian, and on which Aristarchus and Callimachus had differed, must have embraced more complexity and variety than the Latin accentuation. And a similar remark occurs on the accentual marks. We find them indeed strikingly exemplifying and supporting the writers. But suppose all the marked manuscripts had been lost, and we had nothing but an authentic tradition that such marks had in fact been used for many centuries. Such a tradition might well have led us to suppose that there must have been considerable difficulty and variety in the accentuation which had called forth that invention. Why were no such marks used in Latin? simply, because they were not wanted.

When I speak of our ears being prejudiced in favour of the Latin accents, I mean by habit merely, and not by any superiority of their sound. On the contrary, I am persuaded that any one

who shall hear Greek read by a Greek will at once be persuaded of the sweetness which the accents give by the variety of their modulation : *Τάσεις φωνῆς, αἱ καλούμεναι προσωδαὶ διάφοροι, κλέπτουσαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸν κορόν.* (*Dionys.* xix. 158). And even an Englishman in reading to himself, if he could divest himself of his preconceived notions, would, in comparing *τύραννος τριαῖνας Ποσειδῶν* with *tyránnus tridéntis Neptúnus*, find the Latin accents "similitudine ipsa minus suaves," as did Quintilian, whose ears were not likely to have been unduly prejudiced against them.

The proof which has been afforded of the difference between the accentuation of Latin and Greek trisyllables and the rule laid down for the former, "media brevis gravis," enables us at once to explain the passage of Quintilian on the accent of *volucres*, which certainly at first sight strikes us as identifying accent and quantity. "Evenit ut metri quoque conditio mutet accentum : ut 'pecudes, pictæque volucres.' Nam volúcres media acuta legam : quia etsi brevis natura, tamen positione longa est, ne faciat iambum, quem non recipit versus heroicus." (I. 5. 28.) From which Primatt infers that the Latin accent produced or made long the syllable which bore the acute : hence "volucres media acuta legam" is the same with Quintilian as to read the middle syllable long. (*Pref.* p. xxi.) But, in this very same verse,

Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes, pictæque volucres,

does the acute make long the first syllables of *tácet*, of *áger*, and of *pécudes*? We cannot apply to the Greek a passage which, though unquestionably correct, is correct only as applied to Latin, and even there only to trisyllables. The middle syllable of *volūcris* is grave, and if the necessity of metre require you to make it long, you must change the accent as well as the quantity, and read it with an acute. But why? Not because a long syllable and an accented syllable are the same either in Greek or in Latin, but because in the latter language the accent of a word of three syllables depends upon the quantity of its penultimate. “*Media brevis gravem habebit sonum.*” The same explanation applies to two passages which Primatt cites from Aulus Gellius:

“Valerius Probus Grammaticus: is Hannibâlem et Hasdrubâlem et Hamilcârem ita pronuntiabat, ut penultimam circumflecteret.” (iv. 7.)

“Annianus poeta: is affatim ut admodum, prima acuta, non media, pronuntiabat.” (vii. 7.)

I have dwelt longer upon the difference between Greek and Latin accent, because I am persuaded that an assumption of their general identity is the fallacy which causes most of my countrymen to reject the pronunciation by the marks. This fallacy is at once detected by asking ourselves two questions: first, why do I lay the accent on the first of *dómus*? The answer points out to us that a short syllable is not of necessity grave, and therefore a long syllable

is not of necessity acute. Having gained this step, we come to the second question, why do I lay the accent on the second of *tyránnis*? Not from necessity, but because Quintilian tells me, “*media longa acuta*,” which is an arbitrary rule, true in Latin, and false in Greek.

PRINCIPLES OF QUANTITY.

4. I think I have answered the only two objections which can be made to the reading *πραγματών* according to its mark. A short syllable is not, simply as such, necessarily grave: neither is the middle syllable of *πραγματών* to be modulated by the same rule as the middle one of *maximos*.

Still however I can imagine that my readers may not be entirely convinced. Their understandings may not be able to refuse assent to any of the propositions which have formed links in the chain of reasoning; and yet their ears may remain unsatisfied till they shall have heard Greek verse recited in such a manner as to reconcile accent with quantity, so that *πραγματών* may sound at the same time as a paroxytone and as a Cretic. Now this is a very difficult thing to accomplish. Though the Greek of the present day reads Xenophon and Plato in a way to do justice to the sweet variety of the accent, he has lost the art of reciting Homer and Euripides, with the metrical rhythm which is necessary to mark the proportion between long and short syllables. All we can learn on that sub-

ject is from the writings of the ancients, which, as might have been expected in a subject so nearly connected with music, leave us sorely in want of a living teacher to enforce and explain what we read. And in truth, on this subject, grammar without music, can do little more than

Teach us to mourn our errors, not to mend;
A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend.

Nevertheless I think enough remains for the purpose which I have in view. I think, though I cannot myself recite Greek poetry as the ancients did, that it may not be impossible for the Greeks of the present day to revive the rhythm of their ancestors: but supposing this out of the question, we have enough in the ancient authors to give us some idea of their mode of recitation, and to show us, if not what it was, at least what it was not, and that there is no pretence for violating their accents, under the pretence of preserving their quantity.

I shall with this view, and this only, hazard some observations, perhaps I should rather say guesses, on the principles on which the Greeks fixed the quantity of their language, and the manner in which they expressed it.

And first, as to the principles on which they fixed the quantity. That they must have observed it in prose, is clear from the nature of the thing, and from express authority. From the first origin of the language, *ἄνθρωπος* must have taken more time to pronounce than *ἐμέ*: *ἄνθρωπος*

must therefore have been essentially long as compared with ἐμὲ, and that word short as compared with ἄνθραξ, before any poet made use of either ; and so they must necessarily continue as long as the language endures : so that when a Greek says ἄνθραξ ἐμὲ φλέγει, he cannot help giving the first two words the proper relative quantity : it is true that he might dwell as long on ἐμὲ as on ἄνθραξ, but this would produce so drawling and unusual a sound, as would be ridiculous, if not unintelligible.

Besides, as the accent of words above two syllables depends on the quantity of the last syllable, it is obvious that the quantity of the last syllable must have been so sensible to the ear in common discourse as to afford a guide for the accentuation of the preceding syllables.

We shall see further express authorities that time, that is quantity, was observed in prose.

The principles which regulated quantity seem to have resulted partly from necessity and partly from arbitrary rule. And first, of those fixed by necessity.

Every vowel must take up a certain time to be intelligibly pronounced ; but that time will be increased if we combine it with a consonant, which must of course be also pronounced ; if there be two consonants the time must be longer to give effect to each, and besides, the number of consonants being the same, some will take more time to sound than others. For instance,

the first syllable of ἀηδῆς takes a certain time to pronounce ; as little perhaps as any in the language. Let the number (1) represent the time we take to pronounce it. It would require a longer time (2) to pronounce the first syllable of ἀληθῆς, because here we must give effect to the Λ as well as the Α, before we can pass on to the next syllable. A longer time (3) would be required for ἄγαμος, because the Γ is more difficult to pronounce than the liquid Λ ; a longer (4) for ἄθραυσος, and so (5) for ἄγριος, (6) for ἄξιος, and (7) for ἄνθρωπος. Now the time which each of these words takes in the pronunciation results not from any arbitrary rule, but from the nature of things, it being impossible for our organs of speech to produce two or three sounds in as short a time as one : “ Longa erit syllaba, quando post vocalem vel diphthongum sequuntur duæ vel plures consonæ, quæ in sui pronuntiatione diversos oris motus requirunt, vel, ut medicus medice loquar, diversorum in ore musculorum actionem, unde necessario duo aut plura momenta insumi debent ad consonas pronuntiandas diversim.” (*Henninius*, s. 84.)

Thus the first syllable of ἄνθρωπος is by necessity longer than the first of ἀληθῆς, because the Α in ἄνθρωπος, by being placed before three consonants, must take more time to pronounce than the other Α, which is placed before the single Λ ; or, to adopt the usual phrase of grammarians, the Α in ἄνθρωπος is longer by position than the Α in ἀληθῆς.

But besides this difference in the quantity of syllables, which results from necessity, or, as I shall henceforth call it, from position, there is a further difference, which seems merely arbitrary. It appears that the Greeks made the first syllable of *λίον* shorter than that of *δίνη*. Why? Not from necessity certainly, but because so it sounded well to the ears of those patriarchs, were they Aborigines, Egyptians, or Pelasgians, who first spoke the language. The distinction seems purely arbitrary, and must be referred to usage alone. Every vowel, therefore, which is longer than another, is so either by position or by usage. The grammarians indeed tell us that some vowels are short, and some long, by nature: for instance, they say that the first syllable of *ὦν* is long by nature: why? because it is written with an *Ω*, which is always a long vowel. But we should recollect that it is not long because it is written with an *Ω*, but it is written with an *Ω* to show that it is long. Before the invention of that letter, usage, and usage alone, must have settled the quantity. Nor can we give any reason for *ὦν* being long, while *ὄδδδ* is short, but that usage would have it so. But usage having so fixed it, and after ages having invented a mode of writing which distinguishes a long *O* from a short one, we find *ὦν* written with an *Ω*, and *ὄδδδ* with an *O*. The first vowel of *δίνη* is always long; why may it not be called long by nature as correctly as the first of *ὦν*? There is no difference in the

cases, except that the Greeks do not happen to have invented any mode of writing a long I differently from a short one. Suppose such an invention, and the long I to have been written J, we should have written the word δῖ'νῆ, and said that the first syllable was long by nature, forgetting that it is really long by usage, and that there is no reason in the nature of things why δῖνῆ should be long and λῖνον short. And further, the very syllables which we call long by nature are often made short, and the syllables which we call short by nature are made long: the first syllable of στροά is usually short; but it is used long by Aristophanes (*Eccles.* 676). So the first of ζῶν is usually long; but it is made short by Euripides (*Hecuba*, 1090). How can these syllables be said to be long or short by nature? I shall, therefore, to avoid the confusion which this expression might introduce, consider all vowels, however written, which are not influenced as to their quantity by position, to be influenced by usage. We have seen that the quantity of vowels depending upon position varies gradually; and there can scarcely be a doubt but that there was the same variety in those vowels which depend upon usage. The scholiast on Dionysius Thrax mentions a controversy between two no less critics than Apollonius and his son Herodian as to which of the vowels E or O was the shorter. (*Bekker, Anecd. Græc.* p. 798.) And Dionysius of Halicarnassus lays it down as a general pro-

position, that there is no exact scale or nature of the length of syllables, but that of the long syllables some are longer, and of the short, some are shorter than others: *Μήκους δὲ καὶ βραχύτητος συλλαβῶν οὐ μία φύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρότεραί τινές εἰσι τῶν μακρῶν καὶ βραχύτεραι τῶν βραχειῶν.* (xv. 104.) And Quinctilian in almost the same words: “Sit in hoc quoque aliquid fortasse momenti, quod et longis longiores et brevibus sunt breviores syllabæ.” (ix. 4. 84.) Thus the scale of the length of syllables must have been varied by position and usage, and therefore further varied by a combination of both. As, for instance, take the first syllable of *ὦν* to be as long as that of *ἄξιος*, that of *ὠλένη* would be about equal to that of *ἄνθρωπος*, which we have represented by the number (7), then *ὠγύγιος* would be (8), *ὠθροος* (supposing such a word) would be (9), *ὠγριος* (10), *ὠξιος* (11), and *ὠνθρωπος* (12). If, again, of the long vowels some were longer, and of the short some were shorter than others, we should have a fresh scale of quantities: as, for instance, suppose the H to be shorter than the Ω, then the first syllable of *ἥγαγον* would be longer than that of *ἄσματος*, but shorter than that of *ὠγύγιος*: and so perhaps that of *ἄλυρος* may have been shorter than that of *ὄλος*, and that of *ἔλαφος* shorter than either. Besides this, I have probably omitted some degrees in the scale of syllables made long by position; as, for instance, the A in *ἀστὴρ* may have been longer or

shorter than the A in ἄξιος. It is perhaps scarcely necessary to say that these numbers have been adopted to explain the variety of quantities: it is by no means intended that any person would in ordinary discourse dwell twelve times as long on the first syllable of ἄνθρωπος as on that of ἀηδή. But it appears, not only from the authority of Dionysius, but from the nature of things, that from the shortest vowel standing by itself, to the longest vowel combined with the greatest number of consonants, there is a gradual scale of length from which a great variety in the quantity of syllables must inevitably result. This variety in the length of syllables furnishes us with an additional argument against Primatt's reasoning, that the acute accent, by giving time to the syllable on which it falls, would spoil the quantity of poetry. I have endeavoured to show that the acute accent does not in truth give any time at all to the syllable on which it falls. But admitting that the accent gives some time, does it give sufficient time to disqualify the syllable on which it falls from being used in verse as a short one? For unless it do so, Primatt's argument of the incompatibility of the accent with verse fails entirely. Admitting, for argument's sake, that in the word ἔρι the first syllable is longer than the other, and that it is made so, if you please, by the extension or time which the acute gives it, this by no means shows that it is to be accounted a long syllable: "sunt brevisus

breviores ;" the first syllable is still short, though the second be shorter.

QUANTITY IN COMMON DISCOURSE.

5. The next question is, how the Greeks expressed the quantity of their syllables in common discourse, in oratory, and in poetry.

And first of common discourse. The first object of speech is to communicate our thoughts, and the greater part of mankind naturally enough limit their use of speech to that object, without any considerations of rhythm or harmony ; and it is difficult to believe that the Greeks, with all their fine taste, did otherwise : we may suppose that an Athenian, in the time of classic purity, who was busy in the vegetable market, would be thinking more of how many onions he could get for an obolus, than whether the second syllable of *κρομύων* was long or short. But still he would unconsciously attach the proper quantity to each word, however trivial the subject on which he was speaking : he would thus dwell longer on the ΩN than on the MY, though he would not trouble himself, while engaged in counting the onions, about the exact time which each syllable ought to occupy. That the Romans also had the power of marking the difference between long and short vowels as such, is proved, if proof can be thought needful, by that passage in Suetonius, in which he describes Nero as punning on the death of Claudius. " Nam et morari

eum inter homines desisse, producta prima syllaba, jocabatur." (*Nero*, c. 33.) The wit, such as it was, and no doubt it was thought clever at court, consisted in pronouncing the first syllable, so as to express that Claudius had ceased, not to abide (*mōrari*), but to play the fool (*mōrari* from the Greek *μωρὸς*) among mankind. It is clear, that whatever quantity be given to the first syllable of *morari*, the accent must be on the second: so that the way of making the first long must have been by dwelling longer on it. It appears from Cicero that the first letter of *inclutus* was short, that of *insanus* long. (*Orat.* 48.) Certainly the first syllable of both these words was long by position; but there was a difference between the vowels themselves, which the Romans expressed in pronunciation. Aulus Gellius mentions a dispute between two scholars of his own time, whether the E in *quiescit* ought to be long or short (*Noct. Attic.* vi. 15): and he enters into an argument as to the proper quantity of the first letters of *actito* and *unctito*. (*Ib.* ix. 6.) Draco lays down a rule, that A followed by Σ and a mute is usually short, as ἄσθμα, ἄσπις, ἄσο, Ασκληπιὸς κ. τ. λ. (p. 22), and again (p. 25) that the A in ἄρπις is short.

The quantity of syllables made long by position would, if the expression may be allowed, take care of itself: as, for instance, it would not be possible for any one, even in common discourse, to pronounce ἄνθρωπος without making the first

syllable long ; because he could not make the word intelligible, without giving effect to the N, the Θ , and the P.

I am inclined to think that a great part of the misapprehensions of English scholars, both as to the pronunciation and the quantity of Greek, is owing to our not taking into consideration, that the Greeks might, and most probably did, give a greater extension to their long syllables, than that to which our ears are accustomed. Unless mine deceive me, we have a shorter pronunciation of every kind of syllable than any other European nation. The Scotch give a greater length to the long vowels, which would, I think, be grateful to the ear, were it not generally accompanied by a different disposition of the organs, and not unfrequently by a different accent from our own. A Scotchman, who could catch perfectly all our sounds, preserving his own national time, would, I think, speak more agreeably than almost any Englishman, and would be thought to do so by many an Englishman, who would not be able to say why it was so. But not only is it probable, that the Greeks in all times have given a greater extension to the long vowels than we do, but further, that the Greeks in Homer's time gave them a greater than the Greeks in the time of Sextus Empiricus. That they did so in the case of some of the diphthongs at least, seems nearly certain ; and not unlikely in many, if not all, the long vowels. Syllables

made long by position, though we cannot make them understood without giving each letter its sound, we slur over in the least possible time ; and if we do not quite cheat them, we give them the scantiest measure which the exigencies of language will allow. Any one who has heard Italians pronounce such syllables, and remarked how much more time they give to the first two syllables of *convento* than we to *conventional*, will at once understand my meaning. This rapidity of speech makes it harder for the ear to catch the difference of the quantity of our syllables, though the disproportion be as great between them in the English language as in the Greek ; just as the relative distances of places are less easily caught by the eye on a map of a small scale than on a large one.

QUANTITY IN ORATORY.

6. The mode of expressing quantity in oratory requires a fuller consideration. The orator considered quantity as an important study, adapting it artfully to the effect which he wished to produce on his hearers, sometimes exaggerating it to a degree which would be ridiculous in common discourse, and sometimes slurring it over with a rapidity which nothing could reconcile to the ear, but the hurry of vehement passion. He would, moreover, even in the discussion of the most solemn and important matters, be too well aware of the influence of sounds, not to select

such words as would be best suited to the particular passion which he meant to communicate to his audience. This with the Greeks was an avowed object of study, and we find Dionysius not only recommending it, but enforcing it by way of example, by scanning the quantities of some of the finest passages in the orators. Having first discussed in this manner a speech from Thucydides, and pointed out how well suited is the choice of words to the subject, he proceeds to speak of the rhythm of the funeral oration of Plato; and the whole passage is well worth our consideration, not only as showing beyond a doubt that the orators attended to quantity, but as pointing out even particular feet which they seem to have chosen as suitable to particular passions. The oration begins with the following words: *Εργῶ μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς*, which Dionysius proceeds to scan: we may observe that the commencement might be considered as a trimeter iambic:

ἐργῶ μὲν ἡ | μῖν οἶδ' ἔχου | σι τὰ προσή

but it seems from our author, that this manner of delivering it would have taken away from the solemnity suitable to the subject: he accordingly divides it thus: *ἐργῶ μὲν* is a bacchic foot; not thinking it right to scan this branch of the sentence as an iambic, inasmuch as the quantities to be assigned to pathetic subjects should not run glibly, but should be slowly drawn out; then

ἡμῖν is a spondee; οἷδε εἰ (for he would have the orator pause long enough after οἷδε to take away the synalœpha) would be a dactyl; χουσι would be a spondee, either by the interposition of a final N, or by the effect of a long pause, probably the latter, as in that passage of Quintilian: "Paullulum enim moræ damus inter ultimum atque proximum verbum, et 'turpe' illud intervallo quodam producimus." (ix. 4. 108.) Τὰ προσή he considers rather as a cretic than an anapest; κοντα in his opinion is a spondee, no doubt on account of the consonants which follow it: σφίσω αὖ| would be a hypobacchic, which is to suppose the last syllable of σφίσω long, or if you please, an anapest, if you make that syllable short (xviii. 138).

When we find so considerable an antiquarian and historian as Dionysius bestowing so much pains to analyse the rhythm of these sentences, we see at once what pains they must have cost the great men who framed them: with how much technicality every syllable is disposed! and with what art, though concealed art, the whole must have been delivered! Let us consider how in our own country we are charmed by a public speaker who excels in emphasis and delivery; and then let us carry our minds back to the orators of Athens, who it is clear, from what we have just read, paid a closer attention to the technical measuring of sounds than we do: besides this, let us at least suppose it possible that their organs of speech may have been more deli-

cate, their ear more refined, their taste more exquisite, than ours, and we shall soon confess, that they may have had other means of marking the quantity than our clumsy substitute of misplacing the accent. For instance, we may well suppose that Plato would make the first syllable of ἔργον long by giving full effect first to the P and then to the Γ, as an Italian would in the word *ver-gine*. Not that I think the Greeks in ordinary discourse marked these syllables so strongly as the Italians; but, on a solemn and mournful occasion, an enunciation might be excused and applauded, which perhaps in common life would sound pedantic: then to produce the second syllable, the orator would not content himself with the simple pronunciation of the Ω, but would continue the sound, like a singer holding a note, for some time, with a protracted action of the breath. So Quintilian, speaking of the manner in which a passage is to be delivered: “*Plenius adhuc et lentius ideoque dulcius, IN CÆTU. Producenda omnia, trahendæque tum vocales, aperiendæque sunt fauces.*” (xi. 3. 167.) These comments of Dionysius serve as an illustration of the passage from the same author already adverted to [p. 167], where he says that rhythm changes the natural time or quantity of syllables. Dr. Gally, indeed, considers the passage as showing that “the accents that were first used were agreeable to quantity.” (p. 110.) But an attentive consideration of the whole context will show that ac-

cent is neither mentioned nor intended in the passage. Dionysius is speaking of four different things in composition, tone, rhythm, variety and propriety. All these four subsist in prose compositions as well as in vocal and instrumental music, though in a less degree. He first illustrates the difference between the range which music takes, from that allowed in common discourse, by his instance of the *σῖγα σῖγα λευκόν*, where he shows how music interferes with the natural accent; and then he goes on shortly to say, that rhythm in a similar way interferes with the natural quantity of syllables; and his reason for not staying to give an instance was probably that he intended to do so in a subsequent section, which he has accordingly done by his analysis of Thucydides and Plato.

It may perhaps be said, that this power, which Dionysius gives to the orator, of altering the quantity of syllables to make them suit the times which he thought convenient, proves too much: that if he had been gifted with this apparently unbounded licence, he would have been relieved from the necessity of selecting words with long or short syllables, as he might at pleasure have produced the one or the other by dwelling a long or a short time on the syllables which he was pronouncing. The answer seems to be, that he was restrained in his choice of words partly by public opinion, which may have been as effectual a check over rhetorical as over other despotisms,

and partly by the nature of the thing itself; as it would perhaps be scarcely possible to give to such passages as “ἀποπρόβατ’ ἀπόπροθι κοίτας,” or “animula vagula blandula,” long-drawn times, without making them unintelligible.

It may be observed, that the Roman orators paid as much attention to quantity in their speeches as the Greek. This we may collect from numerous passages in the treatise de Oratore. Quintilian, speaking of the different kinds of feet of which prose as well as verse is composed, says, “Et quidem Ciceronem sequar, nam is eminentissimos Græcorum est secutus.” (ix. 4. 79.) It is obvious, from the nature of the thing, as well as clear from the former observations, that the orator might lengthen the second syllable of ἔργῳ without reference to its accent; for if he could not, it was perfectly immaterial whether it was written ἔργῳ or ἔργο; and instead of ἔργῳ μὲν having the effect of a bacchic foot, it would sound like a dactyl. So he might give the full effect to the long syllable of ἔχουσι without laying the accent on it; and in προσήκοντα, let him lay the accent on which of the syllables he would, the other syllable would require to be made equal to it in length.

And here it may not be unworthy of observation, that, though Dionysius points our particular attention to the quantity of the passage in Plato, we can hardly suppose that less attention was paid to the accents. We find ἔργῳ and ἡμῶν va-

rying in accent ; and the last three words, προσ-
ήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, with three different accents.
Can this be the result of mere accident ? Or is
it not more probable, that we have here a speci-
men of that “ beguiling variety of accent,” which
Dionysius praises and Quintilian envies, but
which the modern scholar, by pronouncing προσ-
ηκόντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, unconsciously destroys ?

It has been already remarked, that probably
in ordinary discourse the quantity would be less
studiously preserved than in oratory : but per-
haps a practised orator would carry even into
common life the habit of marking the distinction
between long and short syllables in such a way
as would at once distinguish him from unedu-
cated persons : and this distinction would per-
haps be more perceptible in syllables long by
usage than by position. For instance, if there
were a trifling difference between the manner in
which an educated and an uneducated man pro-
nounced ἄνθρωπος, such difference would be more
likely to be in the second syllable than in the
first. Neither of them could pronounce the first
syllable intelligibly, without giving such effect to
the consonants of which it is composed as must
make that a long syllable. But we cannot say so
of the Ω in the second syllable. The vulgar
might pass over that with such rapidity as to
make the word sound like a dactyl, and yet
make it quite intelligible. But the man of edu-
cation, who had paid habitual attention to the

proper mode of pronunciation, and still more the orator, who had studied sounds, and experienced their effects on the ears of his audience, would remember that the vowel of the second syllable was long, and would pronounce it as such, though without pedantry or affectation, yet in a manner which would at once convey the right quantity to the ear, and preserve an agreeable contrast between the Ω of the second and the O of the third syllable.

QUANTITY IN POETRY.

7. It is not so easy to determine, with any degree of precision, the manner in which the quantity was preserved in poetry. The principles, indeed, must have been the same in poetry as in prose; and in both the manner of marking quantity must have been by dwelling a long time on the long syllables. In poetry too, as in prose, there must have been ample room for the display of taste and judgement in the selection of words with a quantity suitable to the subject: for instance, where the nurse of Medea is lamenting the flight of her mistress from her native country, she describes the uncontrolled passion which hurried her away in terms as rapid:

Ερωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖς' Ιάσονος. (*Euripid. Medea*, v. 8.)

When Electra receives the urn, which she believes to contain her brother's ashes, the poet has not been so unmindful of his art or of his reputation,

as not to insert the *βραδεῖς καὶ ἀναβεβλημένους χρόνους* in every foot in which the metre allowed them :

Ω φιλτάτου μνημεῖον ἀνθρώπων ἐμοὶ,
Ψυχῆς Ορέστου λοιπόν. (*Sophocl. Electra*, v. 1126.)

Surely we could have pronounced, without the aid of any recondite learning, that such contrasts as these between the quantities of the two passages could not have been the result of accident ; they must have been studiously framed to produce an effect on the audience ; and no effect could they have produced, unless there were a corresponding vehemence and rapidity of delivery in the one passage, and a pathetic slowness in the recitation of the other. But though these general principles of quantity were common to the orator and the poet, there was a considerable difference between the degree of license allowed to them. Although the orator could not succeed in producing the desired effect on his audience without selecting words with longer quantities on some occasions than on others, he was by no means fettered as to the proportion which his short syllables bore to his long ones, nor as to the particular place which each ought to occupy ; so that he might range through the whole language for a word suited to his meaning, and, having found it, he might give to each syllable the time or quantity which he judged most suitable to it, without troubling himself or his audience to determine whether he considered it as a

long or a short syllable. Whereas the poet had to deal with a fixed metre, in some places of which he was bound to place a short syllable, in others a long one; in others, again, he was restricted to the option whether he would place one long or two short syllables. Cicero expresses the difference with his usual elegance: "Neque vero hæc tam acrem curam diligentiamque desiderant, quam est illa poetarum; quos necessitas cogit, et ipsi numeri ac modi, sic verba versu includere, ut nihil sit, ne spiritu quidem minimo, brevius aut longius quam necesse est. Liberior est oratio, et plane, ut dicitur, sic et est, vere soluta, non ut fugiat tamen, aut erret, sed ut sine vinculis sibi ipsa moderetur." (*De Oratore*, iii. 48.) Observe here the measure ("spiritus") by which Cicero distinguishes the length of syllables agrees exactly with that ("αὐλὸς τοῦ πνεύματος") of Dionysius.

But what ought the poet to consider as a long syllable, and what as a short one? We have already seen how great a variety there is and must be in the scale of quantity. We have no difficulty in saying that the first syllable of ἀηδής must be short, and that of ὥχρὸς long: but when we approach the middle of the scale, we cannot pronounce with the same certainty what must be the quantity of ἄθραυστος and of ἄγριος: and giving to those words what quantity we will, we are obliged to confess that the difference between the longest of the short syllables and the shortest of the long

ones must have been trifling. Indeed the same syllable was sometimes used as long or short, as in the well-known line of Homer beginning with *Ἀρεε*, *Ἀρεε*. Again, the same syllable was used as long at one period and short at another. Thus we find that Homer makes the first syllable of *ἴσος* always long, the dramatic poets always short. Perhaps the quantity of this word in common discourse may have varied between the age of Homer and that of Æschylus : but more probably Homer added something to the ordinary quantity to suit the dignity and grandeur of heroic poetry, and the dramatists, whose diction was nearer to common discourse, pronounced the word in the usual manner. The grammarians apply to the syllables which are found short and are found long the term *κοινὴ συλλαβή* : but it may be doubted whether there was such a thing as a syllable which might be used either as long or short at the mere will of the poet. We have indeed in Homer the first syllable of *ἔδωρ* used long and used short :—

Πίεν ἀλμυρὸν ἔδωρ. (*Od.* Δ. 511).

and

Νίξ' ἔδαρι. (*Il.* Α. 829).

But are we to infer that it was purely indifferent what quantity was applied to this word? How comes it that Homer never makes this syllable long in the second part of a foot ; never beginning a verse, for instance, *Εἰς ἔδωρ*? This can scarcely have been accident. The probability is,

that the greater part of the syllables which we call common were short in ordinary discourse, but were occasionally lengthened by the poet. But in this was there no limit to the poet's will? This is a question to which modern scholars have not yet given sufficient attention.

It is not improbable that the invention of the H and Ω may have had the effect of a literary stamp in marking the proper time of the words in which they were used, and in deterring the later poets from taking a liberty with the quantity, which would oblige them to take a corresponding liberty with the orthography also. Had it not been for the invention of the Ω , I doubt whether the verse of Homer ending with $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\phi\nu$ would have been so much remarked and canvassed. Perhaps in Homer's time the first syllable of $\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$ took up about as much time as that of $\omicron\delta\omega\rho$: each of these Homer has made long; and yet the latter instance gives us little difficulty, while the former is boldly pronounced defective, or supposed to be cured by the accent, or by writing it $\omicron\pi\phi\nu$. So that we find, with respect to a very great number of syllables, that usage alone was the arbiter, whether they were to be classed as long or short; and that this usage varied according to times and circumstances.

But not only do we find a difficulty as to many syllables in deciding whether they are to be considered absolutely as long or short; but we are

further embarrassed in fixing a definite measure of length to those syllables which were always used as long, or to those which were always used as short. We find, indeed, in general that two short syllables might, in certain feet, be used at the will of the poet instead of one long one ; and the writers on the subject tell us, that a short syllable consists of one time, and a long one of two : from which we might infer that all the long syllables in the language were of the same length, and all the short ones were of just half that length, and consequently equal to each other. How is this to be reconciled with the variety which we have observed in the scale of quantity, and with the authority of Dionysius to the same effect? Neither can it be said that Dionysius has confined his observation to oratorical quantity: further authorities from the same author expressly extend the observation, so as to apply to poetry: *Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ, ὅσον εἰς τὴν παρούσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἤρμοττεν, εἰρῆσθαι, ὅτι διαλλάττει καὶ βραχεῖα συλλαβὴ βραχείας, καὶ μακρὰ μακράς, καὶ οὔτε τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, οὔτ' ἐν λόγοις ψιλοῖς οὔτ' ἐν ποιήμασιν ἢ μέλεσι, διὰ ῥυθμῶν ἢ μέτρων κατασκευαζομένοις, πᾶσα βραχεῖα ἢ πᾶσα μακρά.* (xv. 108.)

And, again, speaking of those lines in the *Odyssey* in which Sisyphus is described rolling the stone up the mountain, he says, *Ρυθμοῖς τε καὶ δακτύλοις καὶ σπονδαίοις τοῖς μηκίστοις, καὶ πλείστην ἔχουσι διάβασιν ἅπαντα σύγκεται.* (xx. 166.) Now if one dactyl or one spondee could be longer

than another, the syllables of which they were composed must have varied in length, that is, quantity.

In this variety of the quantity of syllables, a variety as great in poetry as in prose, and indeed in a great measure arising from the universal principles of language, it is clear that a division of the language into long and short syllables is just as arbitrary as if a general were to divide his army into tall men and short men. The consequence must have been, that the mere reading of a passage of Greek poetry like prose could not have been sufficient to mark the metre with precision, supposing it to be necessary to that precision that one long syllable should take up exactly twice as much time as two short ones. Suppose a Greek, ignorant of metre, but in all other respects perfectly acquainted with all the niceties of the language, to have read poetry aloud, he would not have expressed the metre with the degree of precision above supposed: he would have read it like prose, giving to each word the due quantity which it ought to have in common discourse, and making, therefore, a considerable variety in the quantity of the syllables. He would either in reading Homer make ἴσος too short, or in reading Euripides, too long. In the verse beginning Ἀρεε, Ἀρεε, he would unquestionably repeat the same word with the same quantity. This is worth our consideration; because we are apt to assume that the Greek lan-

guage is made up of short syllables and long ones, that two of the former are exactly equivalent to one of the latter, and further, that in reading poetry simply like prose, the reader ought to be able to mark the metre with precision, so as to make it perceptible to his audience. But have we any authority that the works of the Greek poets were read like prose? It appears from Aristotle (*Poet.*, sect. 3.) that the works of the dithyrambic poets were set to instrumental music: the music was probably that of stringed instruments, and particularly the lyre, from which we commonly call this kind of poetry lyric poetry. That the lyre was not with them, as with us, a figurative expression, but a substantive instrument, is shown by innumerable passages, but by none more than that of Pindar:—

Ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου λάμβαν'. (*Olymp.* 1).

A poet of Pindar's taste would never have stooped to so homely an expression as taking down the lyre from its peg, unless the figure had been suggested and justified by the practice of subsisting manners. The bard of Alcinous, who is not necessarily to be supposed to use the same metre as the great bard who describes him, brings his harp to the feast of the Phæacians. Achilles, withdrawn from the scene of war, is found soothing his angry spirit with the lyre, and singing to it the deeds of heroes. The expression of Horace,

“Cithara carmina divides,” should I think be rendered “Thou wilt divide verses into feet by the aid of the lyre.” (*Od.* I. 15.) It is obvious that the music might assist in expressing the proportion of the long and short syllables. In singing, a syllable may be prolonged to a degree which would be unbearable in common discourse.

With respect to dramatic poetry, Aristotle informs us that tragedy and comedy had parts which were set to music and parts which were not: Εἰσὶ δέ τινες, αἱ πᾶσι χρῶνται τοῖς εἰρημένοις· λέγω δὲ, οἶον ῥυθμῷ καὶ μέλει καὶ μέτρῳ· ὥσπερ ἡ τε τῶν διθυράμβων ποίησις, καὶ ἡ τῶν νόμων, καὶ ἡ τε τραγῳδία καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία· διαφέρουσι δὲ, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ᾄμα πᾶσιν, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μέρος. (*Poet.* 3.) There seems little doubt that the form of poetry which had music in some parts and not in others was the dramatic; the part set to music being the choric or lyrical metre, and the part not set to music being the iambic, and perhaps the trochaic, dactylic and anapæstic portions. That this was also the case in the Roman drama may be inferred from Horace, who, in describing the increasing luxury of theatrical music, says, that the pipe was originally used for the purpose of accompanying the chorus:—

Tibia

Adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis. (*Ars Poet.* 202.)

The term choral music is applicable not only

to what is sung by the chorus, but also to lyrical parts sung by other personages, but always, I think, addressed to the chorus. This choral music, however simple at first, became very elaborate, and, I doubt not, very scientific. I have already given my reasons for thinking that the accents were generally distinguishable by the ear, in verse as well as in prose. This however was not always the case. Music, whose province was at first only to assist poetry, by degrees usurped the first place in the chorus, and made poetry subservient to herself. Airs were composed of exquisite melody, but with little or no attention to the words which were to be set to them. In this case, the accents would necessarily be destroyed by syllables, which ought to be heightened, being set to base notes, and grave syllables to high notes ; or, as Dionysius expresses it, in the passage already quoted (p. 166), music makes the words subservient to the melody, and not the melody to the words ; and he gives as an instance the passage from the *Orestes* :—

Σῖγα σῖγα λευκὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης
τιθεῖτε, μὴ κτυπεῖτε.
ἀποπρόβατ' ἐκεῖσ' ἀπόπροθι κοίτας.

Dionysius seems here to appeal to his readers, as knowing not only the air itself, but every note of it ; which he would not have done, unless he had been satisfied that the majority of them understood music. If the passage at first sight appear to favour Primatt's theory, that the ac-

cents in verse were changed so as to suit what he calls quantity, this idea is at once negated by the instances given : for *σίγα σίγα λευκὸν* are all sung in the same note, and therefore at the same height ; whereas, according to Primatt's theory, *σίγα σίγα* ought to have been left as they were, and *λευκὸν* only changed from an oxytone to a properispastic. In *ἀρβύλης* the change is not by transferring the acute from the middle syllable to the first, as Primatt, and Vossius also, would have done, but by making the third of equal elevation (*ὁμότονον*) with the second : an expression, which, followed as it is by the remark that a word cannot have two acute accents, shows, that in ordinary discourse *ἀρβύλης* was pronounced according to its mark. *Τιθεῖτε* and *κτυπεῖτε*, though agreeing with Primatt's theory, are both changed ; and in *ἀποπρόβατε*, which ought to have no accent at all, if accent makes a syllable long, or, if any, on the third syllable, the *τάσις* is transferred to the fourth.

Aristoxenus gives the same account of vocal music, that it makes the accents undistinguishable : — *Δεῖ τὴν φωνὴν ἐν τῷ μελωδεῖν τὰς μὲν ἐπιτάσεις τε καὶ ἀνέσεις ἀφανεῖς ποιεῖσθαι.* (p. 20.) This expression exactly agrees with that of Dionysius, τοῦ “ *κτυπεῖτε* ” ὁ περισπασμὸς ἡφάνισται. It may be further observed, that these expressions of Dionysius and Aristoxenus as to the merging of the accents are by no means applied by them to all poetry : we may infer from the term *μέλῃσιν*

in the first author, and μελωδεῖν in the second, that they are only speaking of choral music, without anything to lead us to extend the remark to iambics, where, on Primatt's principle, it would be not only possible, but even necessary, to merge those accents, which according to his theory are inconsistent with quantity. It seems probable that Homer accompanied his verse with music. Athenæus infers this from his leaving so many verses lame (τὴν χωλότητα ἔχοντας), while Solon, Theognis and others, whose poetry was not set to music, took more pains with the numbers and arrangement of their metres. (xiv. 632.) It would seem from hence that a defect in the due length of a syllable was more easily cured in music than in simple recitation. We learn from Plutarch that Terpander set his own epics and those of Homer to music and sung them at the games. (*De Musica*, s. 3. vol. v. p. 630, ed. Wytttenbach, Oxon. 1800.) It seems that in Quintilian's time heroic verse was not set to music, and yet was not read like simple prose:—"Sit autem in primis lectio virilis, et cum suavitate quadam gravis: et non quidem prosæ similis, quia carmen est, et se poëtæ canere testantur: non tamen in canticum dissoluta, nec plasmate (ut nunc a plerisque fit) effeminata: de quo genere optime C. Cæsarem prætextatum adhuc accepimus dixisse, Si cantas, male cantas; si legis, cantas." (I. 8. 2.) He is here speaking of Greek as well as of Latin poetry. But though

this poetry was not to be sung, the rhythm was to be marked, and the quantity, that is, the time, preserved in a technical manner quite out of the reach of those who did not understand music :—
 “Tum nec citra musicen grammaticæ potest esse perfecta, cum ei de metris rhythmisque dicendum sit.” (I. 4. 4.)

Whether Quintilian by the term “musicæ” intended to express what we call music, it is not easy to say. Sufficient light is thrown upon this passage by a subsequent one, in which, in urging the advantage of a knowledge of “musicæ” to the orator, he anticipates the objection :—“Quo melius vel defendet reum vel reget consilia, qui ci-tharæ sonos nominibus et spatiis distinxerit?” (I. 10. 3.) We may collect from these expressions that his term “musicæ” embraced at least such a technical measuring of sounds as seldom enters into an English scholar’s education when he is learning to read and recite poetry. I feel and regret this defect in my own education, and in that of the majority of my countrymen ; a defect mainly owing to an opinion that the cultivation of music tends to give an effeminate softness to the character, and to unfit men for graver studies. Not so thought the Spartans :—*Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βίου σωφροσύνης καὶ αὐστηρίας μετέβαινον ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν μουσικὴν, ἔχουσιν τὸ κλητικὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης.* (*Athenæus*, xiv. 633.)

How, then, was that poetry recited which was not set to music, and yet was not read like prose?

It is not perhaps possible to answer this question with precision : but still enough may be learned from the ancient authorities, and particularly from Quintilian, for the illustration of the subject.

The poetry of the Greeks, and of the Romans who followed them, was divided into parts, which we will call after Quintilian, spaces : each of these spaces was subdivided into so many times (*tempora* or *σημεῖα*). A time was defined to be the indivisible, or least possible time, meaning, I suppose, the least time required to pronounce a vowel.

“Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ χρόνος ἄτομος καὶ ἐλάχιστος, ὃς καὶ σημεῖον καλεῖται· ἐλάχιστον δὲ καλῶ τὸν ὥς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὃς ἐστὶ πρῶτος κατάληπτος αἰσθήσει· σημεῖον δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἀμερῆς εἶναι· καθὼ καὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι τὸ παρά σφισιν ἀμερὲς, σημεῖον προσηγόρευσαν.” (*Aristides Quintilianus*, p. 32. ed. Meibom.)

I doubt not, this definition was found sufficient for practical purposes, although Sextus Empiricus, with his usual subtlety, carps at it as unphilosophical, on the ground that time is infinitely divisible : “Οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ἐλάχιστος χρόνος· πᾶς γὰρ εἰς ἄπειρον τέμνεται.” (*Adv. Gramm.* cap. vi.)

We may represent one of these times by the sign (˘) and two of them by (˘˘). It was the number of times which went to a space which determined the rhythm. Thus the iambic rhythm has three times (˘˘˘) : the dactylic is τετράσημος

([˘][˘]), the Pæonic πεντάσημος ([˘][˘][˘]), the Ionic ἐξάσημος ([˘][˘][˘][˘]). It follows from this definition of the component parts of rhythm that the iambic rhythm and the trochaic are the same, as each consists of three times ; so Cicero, “ in trochæo, qui temporibus et intervallis est par iambo.” (*Ora-
tor*, 57.) Metre consists not only in the number of the times, but in the order of the syllables, so that metre is rhythm, and something more. An iambic and a trochee, though of the same rhythm, are of different metres.

“ Omnis structura ac dimensio et copulatio vocum constat aut numeris (numeros ῥυθμὸν accipi volo) aut μέτρῳ, id est, dimensione quadam. Quod etiam si constat utrumque pedibus, habet tamen non simplicem differentiam. Nam rhythmī, id est, numeri, spatio temporum constant ; metra etiam ordine : ideoque alterum esse quantitatis videtur, alterum qualitatis. Ῥυθμὸς aut par est, ut dactylus ; unam enim syllabam parem brevibus habet. Est quidem vis eadem et aliis pedibus, sed nomen illud tenet : (longam esse duorum temporum, brevem unius, etiam pueri sciunt) aut sescuplex ut pæon ; cujus vis est ex longa et tribus brevibus : quique ei contrarius, ex tribus brevibus et longa, vel alio quoque modo tempora tria ad duo relata sescuplum faciunt : aut duplex, ut iambus : nam est ex brevi et longa : quique est ei contrarius. Sunt hi et metrici pedes : sed hoc interest, quod rhythmō indifferens est, dactylusne ille priores habeat breves,

an sequentes. Tempus enim solum metitur, ut a sublatione ad positionem iisdem sit spatiis pedum.” (*Quinctil.* ix. 4. 45.)

The definition of rhythm given by Dionysius is, that it is synonymous with foot: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καλῶ πόδα καὶ ῥυθμόν. (xvii. 124.) This in truth agrees with the definition of Quinctilian, who says that both rhythm and metre consist of feet, and that it is indifferent to rhythm whether a dactyl has the short syllables at the beginning or the end: whence it is clear that he uses the term “pes” in the same extended sense in which Dionysius uses “ποῦς:” when he means to confine it to metre, he adds the epithet “metricus;” so that “~” and “~” have the same rhythm, and contain the same foot: but they have not the same metrical foot, because metre consists also in the order of the syllables, and therefore, when we come to metre, we call the former a dactyl and the latter an anapest. It is important to bear in mind this nice, but palpable, distinction between rhythm and metre, which serves to explain many passages of the ancient writers on oratory and poetry. Take as an instance what Terentianus says of hexameter verse:—

Hoc sat erit monuisse, locis quod quinque frequenter
Jugem videmus inveniri dactylum.
Sed non et sextum pes hic sibi vindicat unquam,
Nisi quando rhythmum non metrum componimus.
Namque metrum certique pedes numerusque coërcent,
Dimensa rhythmum continet lex temporum.

(*Apud Putsch.* 2419.)

It seems probable that the compositions of the dithyrambic poets were framed according to rhythm, and not according to metre: if so, perhaps in the expression of Horace, that Pindar is hurried on " *numerus lege solutis*" (*Od.* iv. 2), " *numerus*" may mean rhythm, and " *lege*" metrical rule. Quintilian complains of some scholars in his own time, who, acting on a system or theory of their own, forced some of the verses of lyric poets into various metres: " *Sed in adeo molestos incidimus grammaticos, quam fuerunt, qui lyricorum quædam carmina in varias mensuras coëgerunt.*" (ix. 4. 53.)

" *A modis quibusdam, cantu remoto, soluta videatur oratio, maximeque id in optimo quoque eorum poetarum, qui λυρικοί a Græcis nominantur; quos cum cantu spoliaveris, nuda pæne remanet oratio.*" (*Cicero, Orator*, 55.) They would be reduced nearly to prose; that is, they were without metre, but not without rhythm.

The rhythm of poetry was marked both among the Greeks and Romans by physical gesture. Indeed the primary sense of the word *ῥυθμός* seems to have been gesture regulated or measured: *Τῇ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως τάξει ῥυθμός ὄνομα εἶη.* (*Plato de Legibus*, c. 2.) The simplest, and probably the earliest mode of marking the rhythm was by the foot, which was raised at the beginning of each space, and lowered again with a smart beat at the end of it.

There is a remarkable passage in illustration of this manner of recitation in Plutarch's life

of Demosthenes. Philip of Macedon, having crushed the liberties of Greece at Chæronæa, crowned his success most fitly by a drunken debauch. In the height of his extravagant joy he insulted the bodies of the slain, and sung the preamble of the act which Demosthenes had proposed and carried in the Athenian assembly for declaring war against him, dividing it into measures and beating time with his foot:—*Παραντικά μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἐξυβρίσας, καὶ κωμάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, μεθύων ἦδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος, πρὸς πόδα διαίρων καὶ ὑποκρούων,*

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς τάδ' εἶπε.

I should think that *πόδα* in this passage means the human foot, and *διαίρων* means dividing the words into metre by raising the foot at the beginning, and depressing it again with a smart beat at the end of each metrical foot. This mode of marking time accounts in the most simple and natural manner for the term *ποῦς* being applied to the component parts of poetry. Plutarch speaks of this mode of reciting with a beat of the foot as opposed to singing:—*Ἐτι δὲ τῶν ἱαμβείων, τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κρούσιν, τὰ δὲ ᾄδεσθαι, Ἀρχίλοχόν φασι καταδειῖξαι, εἰθ' οὕτω χρῆσασθαι τοὺς τραγικοὺς ποιητάς.* (*De Musica*, s. 18. ed. Wytttenb. vol. v. p. 665.)

This alternate raising and lowering of the foot was called by the Greeks “*ᾄσις καὶ θέσις*,” and by the Latins “*sublatio et positio*.” “*Ποῦς μὲν*

οὐν ἐστὶ μέρος τοῦ παντὸς ῥυθμοῦ, δι' οὗ τὸν ὅλον καταλαμβάνομεν· τούτου δὲ μέρη δύο, ἄρσις καὶ θέσις.” (*Aristid. Quintil. de Musica*, lib. i. p. 34. ed. Meibom.) And afterwards, in his definition of ἀγωγή, he tells us that the time or quantity may be extended or shortened, provided that we preserve the proportion between the ἄρσις and θέσις : —“ Ἀγωγή δὲ ἐστὶ ῥυθμικὴ, χρόνων τάχος ἢ βραδύτης· οἷον, ὅταν, τῶν λόγων σωζομένων, οὗς αἱ θέσεις ποιοῦνται πρὸς τὰς ἄρσεις, διαφόρως ἐκάστου τὰ μεγέθη προφερώμεθα.” (*Ibid.* p. 42.)

These expressions of “raising” and of “lowering” lead naturally to the conclusion, that the primary meaning of “ποῦς” and its component parts is to be traced to physical gesture. And accordingly the term “ictus,” which is often applied by Latin writers to metre, must, I should think, have been in its primitive sense synonymous with “positio;” the blow taking place when the foot is brought down again to the ground. That the “ictus” was at least a measurement of time, appears from Quintilian : — “Tempora etiam animo metiuntur, et pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant,” &c. (ix. 4. 51.)

Syllaba longa brevi subjecta, vocatur Iambus,
Pes citus, unde etiam trimetris accrescere jussit
Nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus,
Primus ad extremum similis sibi.

(*Horat. Ars Poet.* 252.)

There is some ambiguity in this passage, owing to the uncertainty of the meaning of the con-

junction "cum." I understand Horace to mean, that the iambic took up so little time, that it was in process of time found convenient to take two feet together in the measurement of it, and so reduce the "ictus" to three; although (for so I would translate "cum") it had six feet, each of which was originally measured by itself, with its own arsis and thesis. His expression

..... "Pollio regum

Facta canit pede ter percusso," (Lib. i. Sat. 10. v. 42.)

is no doubt to be understood of trimeter iambics.

This rapid mode of scanning the iambic throws light upon the passage already quoted (p. 210) from Dionysius, who says that the first words of Plato's funeral oration should not in the delivery be scanned as iambic, in which case *Ἐργῶ μὲν ἦ* would be in some degree slurred over by being all taken together, but rather *Ἐργῶ μὲν* should be scanned as a bacchic, and *ἦμῖν* as a spondee.

Besides the beat with the foot, the time seems occasionally to have been marked by some movement of the hand or arm. This may have been introduced, when, from the size or structure of the theatre, part of the audience could not have seen the beat of the foot. The expression of Quintilian, "*strepitus digitorum*," (ix. 4. 55.) seems to describe a snapping of the fingers. The definition which Aristides Quintilianus gives is: "*Ἀρσις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φορὰ σώματος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω, θέσις δὲ, ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω ταύτου μέρους.*" (p. 31.)

The arsis and thesis appear to have been

regulated on very precise and technical principles. In those feet indeed which consisted of an equal number of times, these times were equally divided between the arsis and thesis: in a spondee, for instance, the first syllable, consisting of two times, would be in the arsis, that is, would be pronounced while the foot was being raised, and the second, consisting also of two times, would be in the thesis. But what is the due proportion in a Cretic foot, which, consisting of five times, cannot be equally divided? Are we to place three in the arsis and two in the thesis, or the contrary? We learn from Terentianus Maurus that this depends upon the accent:—

Romulos si nominemus Appulos aut Doricos,
 Sesquiplo metimur ipsum, quinque nam sunt tempora;
 Nunc duo ante, tria sequuntur, nunc tribus reddes duo,
 Italum si quando mutat Graius accentus sonum.
 Appulos nam quando dico, tunc in ἄρρει sunt duo;
 Σωκράτην Graius loquendo reddet in θέρει duo.

(*Apud Putsch.* p. 2414.)

This passage is important, not only as confirming what Quintilian says of the difference between the Greek and Latin accents, but as affording a complete refutation of the inference of Primatt from the passage of Quintilian as to the accent of *volucres*: it is clear that the middle syllable of Σωκράτην does not by being accented become long, because it still remains of the same metre as Appulos. It further disproves Primatt's notion that the Greek accents were different in prose

and in verse. His theory was, that Greek was read in verse by quantity, which he assumed to be incompatible with a reading by accent: if so, *Σωκράτην* and Appulos being of the same quantity would be read in the same manner in verse, and consequently the Greek word would become a proparoxytone like Appulos, for that is what Primatt evidently means by a reading by quantity. Terentianus, however, tells us that *Σωκράτην* keeps its Greek accent, which makes no difference in the quantity itself, for the times remain five, but has an influence on the division of the arsis and thesis.

Why there should be this difference in the distribution of the times between A'ppulos and *Σωκράτην*, it would not be easy for a modern scholar to give a good reason. In speaking of what are usually called common syllables, I have observed that Homer never begins a verse with *Εἰς ὕδωρ*. May not this be connected with the doctrine we are now discussing? May there not have been some mode of lengthening a short syllable in the arsis, which would have been difficult or inharmonious in the thesis? Perhaps if the whole passage in the Scholiast of Hephæstion on *αἰόλον ὄφιν* had been preserved, we might have learned something on this subject. One thing is clear, that there was a musical nicety in the chronic metre of the ancients, of which we, whose ears are accustomed to accentual rhythm alone, can form no adequate conception. In speaking of

the arsis and thesis, we must be careful to bear in mind the distinction between rhythm and metre. The gesture marked the former, but not the latter: "Metrum in verbis modo, rhythmus etiam in corporis motu est." (*Quinctil.* ix. 4. 50.)

And in the passage of Dionysius already quoted (p. 165), it is a violation, not of metre, but of rhythm, which is so perceptible and so distasteful to the audience.

A similar passage of Cicero, though differently expressed, has I think the same meaning:—"In versu quidem theatra tota exclamant, si fuit una syllaba brevior aut longior. Nec vero multitudo pedes novit, nec ullos numeros tenet: nec illud quod offendit, aut cur, aut in quo offendat, intelligit." (*Orator*, 51.) The substituting a long syllable for a short one, or the contrary, would spoil the rhythm, which the majority of the audience would be at once able to detect. For though ignorant of the technical mode of measuring by feet, and unable to predicate how many times each ought to contain, they would judge by the ear of any redundancy or deficiency in the quantity. It appears to have been necessary in recitation to mark with precision the διάστημα, which was perhaps the interval or proportion by which one sound or syllable exceeded or fell short of the other: from whence the term διαστηματική φωνή, in opposition to συνεχής:—"Τὴν μὲν οὖν συνεχὴ λογικὴν εἶναι φάμεν· διαλεγομένων γὰρ ἡμῶν, οὕτως ἡ φωνὴ κινεῖται κατὰ τόπον, ὥς

μηδαμοῦ δοκεῖν ἴσταςθαι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν, ἣν ὀνομάζομεν διαστηματικὴν, ἐναντίως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι· ὡς γὰρ ἴσταςθαί τε δοκεῖ, καὶ πάντες τὸν τοῦτο φαινόμενον ποιεῖν οὐκέτι λέγειν φασίν, ἀλλ' ἄδειν.” (*Aristoxenus Harmonic. Element. lib. i. p. 9. ed. Meibom.*)

Aristides Quintilianus agrees more nearly with Quinctilian in saying, that the manner of reciting poetry was something between the *συνεχῆς* and the *διαστηματική*.

“Ἡ μὲν οὖν συνεχῆς ἐστὶν, ἣ διαλεγόμεθα· μέση δὲ, ἣ τὰς τῶν ποιημάτων ἀναγνώσεις ποιούμεθα· διαστηματικὴ δὲ, ἣ καὶ τὰ μέσον τῶν ἀπλῶν φωνῶν ποσὰ ποιουμένη διαστήματα.” (*De Musica, lib. i. p. 7. ed. Meibom.*)

Perhaps the recitation of the iambic portion of a Greek tragedy may have been similar to the recitative in the modern Italian opera; where sometimes the orchestra, for many bars together, is either entirely silent, or gives out only a key-note, the performer pronouncing the words so as to be clearly understood, and yet watching the time as marked by the leader of the band. For my own part, although unable to describe, and still less to imitate, the manner in which the Greeks marked the rhythm, I have no doubt but that the effect of it was grateful and harmonious.

When I see the characteristics of the architecture, the sculpture, the poetry, the oratory, the history, and the philosophy of the Greeks to be simplicity and grandeur coupled with pure taste,

and producing, like nature herself, variety without confusion ; why should I suppose that in the music and in the recitation of their poetry, the same degree of perfection was either not studied, or was studied without success ? But though Dionysius and Plutarch may not enable us to describe with precision what the manner of marking quantity in recitation was, they at any rate show what it was not : they at least ought to suggest to us, that when we read Greek poetry, not with pauses to mark the proportion between the syllables, but in one continued breath, as we do prose, without gesture, without beating of time, we ought not to be surprised or disappointed if we fail in marking the quantity so as to make the exact metrical proportion between the long and short syllables sensible to the ears of our audience. I say the exact metrical proportion, because the general distinction between long and short syllables may undoubtedly be preserved by dwelling longer on the former than on the latter. But the precision of the metre cannot have full justice done to it, unless we can revive those mechanical contrivances by which each verse was divided and measured. And yet we not only in practice read Greek poetry as if it were prose, but we are apt to be influenced by arguments which tacitly assume that there never was any other way of reciting it. I have been asked with an air of much triumph, how, if words were accented according to the marks, I would read the

famous line in the *Odyssey* which describes the stone of Sisyphus leaping down with repeated bounds from the top of the mountain. I readily admit that if we read that line continuously like prose, αὐτίς ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής, we should materially impair the effect of it: but I ask, in my turn, for some authority that it ever was read like prose. For my own part, I have no difficulty in conceiving this line to have been recited or scanned with harmonious modulation with a beat of the foot, and with a slight pause between each dactyl, so as to give it the effect proposed by the poet, without at all interfering with the accent. It may be remarked, that the agreement of our mode of accentuation with the effect proposed by the poet in this line is purely accidental, from all the accents, as we lay them, happening to fall on the long syllables. In a similar line of *Virgil*, intending to represent the repeated bounds of a horse galloping, there happens to be no such agreement: we lay the accents, as we are justified by *Quintilian's* rules in laying them, thus:—

Quadrupedánte pútrem sónitu quátit úngula cámpum.

But I should think that the proper mode of recitation did justice to *Virgil's* line as well as to *Homer's*, without laying the accent on the last syllables of “putrem” and “sonitu,” or leaving “quatit” without any accent at all, as we must do, if we will lay the accent on long syllables

only. Let a modern scholar explain and exemplify to me the *διάστημα* and the arsis and thesis, and I feel pretty confident I shall be able to show him the way to give each of these passages its proper effect by quantity alone, without doing any violence to the accent either in the Greek or in the Latin.

Having hazarded these conjectures as to the principles on which the Greeks fixed the quantity of their language, and the manner in which they expressed it, I must remind the reader, that any mistakes which I may have made in this part of the subject will not necessarily invalidate the main argument. The quantity may have been established and preserved upon principles different from those which I have suggested, and yet it may still be true, that the accentual marks are correct, and that, in order to preserve the quantity, it is not necessary to misplace the accent. The object of the argument is not so much to show what the rhythm of the Greeks was, as what it was not. The whole doctrine of quantity is obscure, from the obvious reason that it is connected with music which has been lost; and that it has for many centuries ceased to be the standard for measuring the feet of verses: but accent is very simple in its own nature, there being in truth scarcely any dispute respecting its effect or its pronunciation, but only respecting the syllables to which it ought to be applied. Now this being so, we ought, upon discovering any seeming in-

consistency between the two, to reason from what we understand better, to what we understand less: but we reverse the process of reasoning; from some qualities which we attribute to quantity, of which we know less, we obstinately affix certain other qualities to accent, of which we know more; in spite of the clearest testimony of authors, who had the fullest knowledge of both, and who never hint at any discrepancy between them.

Our difficulty, too, in understanding the subject is materially aggravated by the defect in our education. Most of the modern scholars who have studied and taught what we call prosody, have been entirely ignorant of music. In Quintilian's time this was looked upon as impossible. He tells us that without music his pupils could know nothing of metre or of rhythm. But it seems that either the ears of modern critics are naturally so correct as to give them an intuitive apprehension of rhythm and metre without musical study, or that they have derived from their lucubrations in Hephæstion and Burney so philosophical a knowledge of the principles of music, that their eyes will serve to instruct them on these subjects without the assistance of their ears:—"Απόδειξιν δ' ἰσχυροτάτην τοῦ τὰληθῆ λέγειν φέρειν οἴονται, μάλιστα μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναισθησίαν, ὡς πᾶν, ὃ, τι περ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκφύγῃ, τοῦτο καὶ δὴ πάντως ἀνύπαρκτον ὄν παντελῶς καὶ ἄχρηστον." (*Plutarch. de Music.* 38. ed. Wytttenbach., vol. v. p. 681.)

Finally, I must again remind the reader of the state of the question. I limit my endeavour to persuade him to read Saint Luke according to the marks. My conjectures as to quantity are only subsidiary to this argument, and are merely used by way of reply to an objection. I will suppose that I have not only been unsuccessful in giving the reader an idea how Greek poetry was recited, but that he rises with the same conviction with which he sat down, that the accents, as evinced by the marks; are inconsistent with poetical rhythm. Still I contend that this affords no reasonable ground for neglecting the marks in prose. If we end in the persuasion, not only that we ourselves cannot pronounce *πραγμάτων* in an iambic verse without spoiling the rhythm, but that the ancient Greeks could not do so, then the only reasonable conclusion is, that which Primatt has drawn, that in verse it must be read *πράγματων*. This would only be to extend to metre generally what we have seen is sometimes true of choral music at least, that it prevents our distinguishing the accents. We might contend that, as in the chorus in *Orestes* the circumflex of *κτυπεῖτε* is annihilated (*ἡφάνισται*), so, in the iambic, the acute on the middle syllable of *πραγμάτων* is drowned or destroyed by the rhythm: without disputing the authority of those authors who teach us generally that *κτυπεῖτε* is a prope-rispastic and *πραγμάτων* a paroxytone. I do not agree with this theory as to the difference between

verse and prose, and I think I have shown grounds for distrusting it ; but I am sure it is much less unreasonable than to set our opinion against the clearest testimony of Greeks at a time when the language was in its highest state of purity, because we fancy we understand the modulation of their language better than they did themselves.

OUR PRONUNCIATION VIOLATES QUANTITY.

8. I have endeavoured to refute the charge that by pronouncing Greek according to the accentual marks we violate the quantity. But if there be any truth in the preceding observations on the manner of expressing the distinction between long and short syllables, I shall be prepared not only to refute this charge, but to retort it. Our schools and universities do not teach us to dwell longer on the long syllables as such, either in Greek or in Latin, than on the short ones ; we dwell as long on δὲ as on δῆ, on *pater* as on *mater*, on ὄμῳ as on ὤμῳ ; on *oris*, the genitive of *os*, as on *oris*, the dative plural of *ora* ; on *cano* (I sing), as on the dative of *canus*. We should remember, that in the rhythm of the orators as well as in the metre of the poets, to say nothing of common discourse, the quantity of words under three syllables is just as important as that of longer words ; many verses, of which the very first in the *Æneid* is one, being entirely composed of words of one and two syllables. And yet our boasted method of preserving the quantity by the due laying of

the accent, only pretends to do so in words of more than two syllables. But does it even do that? I venture to reply, that it generally does not; no, not even in the Latin, where I concede that we lay the accent on the proper syllable. For instance, how does an English scholar generally read “*famosus*?” He lays the accent on the O, and in so doing he is right: but is that enough? He ought, especially if he is reciting oratory or poetry, to dwell as long, or nearly so, on the A as on the O, and twice as long, or nearly so, on each of those vowels as on the U. If he satisfies himself, as our learned men usually do, with laying the accent right, he leaves the ear to seek whether the A be long or short: nay, even to the O, though he thinks he has given it the right quantity, he has in truth only given the right accent; and it will be by a process of reasoning, and not by the beat upon our ears, that we shall be assured that he meant it to be long. We first of all assume that he is acquainted with the rule, that where the penultimate of a Latin word is long it must be accented; and then, because he gives it the accent, and for that reason only, we infer that he considers it as long. But suppose he had called it *fámosus*, would not that have been a false quantity? I answer, certainly not; that is, not necessarily. Suppose a Greek conversant with the ancient principles of metre, but ignorant of the Latin language, and believing the accentuation of that language to be similar

to that of his own, to be required to pronounce "famosus," and to be told that the first two syllables of that word were long and the last short : he would raise the first syllable, and yet he would give to the first two syllables the long-drawn times which would express them as long ; that is, he would give the word the wrong accent, but the right quantity. So that the objection drawn from false quantity is not only untenable in itself, but may be generally retorted on those who use it. I say generally, because I admit that it is not necessarily so : we might in Latin preserve the true quantity as well as the true accent ; and we might in Greek preserve the true quantity, although we persisted in laying a false accent : all I contend is, that in general our schools, from their attention to accent alone, whether wrongly laid or rightly laid, and their entire neglect of giving long-drawn times to long syllables, do in general completely sacrifice that very quantity which they make so much boast of preserving. And that this is a great defect, or at least would be so to any ears who had ever heard the true pronunciation, seems very evident from many authorities cited, but particularly from the analysis of Plato's oration by Dionysius. How does the modern scholar pronounce the opening sentence ? He reads ἔργῳ in such a way that the ear cannot distinguish it from ἔργῳ, thereby turning the bacchic of Dionysius into a dactyl : ἡμῖν he makes virtually a trochee ; the τὰ προσή|,

which should be rather a cretic than an anapest, he makes rather a tribrach than either ; as to the pauses which are to make the last syllables of ἔχουσι and of σφίσιν long, they never entered into his imagination. Then, again, in the line cited from Sophocles,

ὦ φιλότατον μνημεῖον ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί,

he pronounces Ω as if it were O, and μνημεῖον as if it were μνεμεῖον ; and though he assigns to ἀνθρώπων the right accent for wrong reasons, he entirely deprives that word, at least in the last two syllables, of its due time. Where are the “stable spondees” which the poet has taken so much pains to build, and which perhaps required six or seven rehearsals, before the actor (for actresses in those days there were not), could give them effect to the satisfaction of Sophocles ? Where are Plato’s ἀναβεβλημένοι καὶ βραδεῖς χρόνοι, so studiously framed to draw tears from his audience, and framed in vain, unless dwelt upon in the recitation ? Perhaps if a man who had ever heard those passages properly recited, could hear our manner of dealing with them, it might produce on him much the same effect as if a lover of the violin should hear a New Zealander perform some favourite piece of Paganini upon the drum.

It is certainly strange that modern scholars, though inattentive to real quantity, and ignorant of the proper mode of reciting chronic metre, should have been able to compose Greek and

Latin verses with considerable correctness. But I apprehend the solution of this fact, however unwilling we may be to admit it, is, that our composition of classical verses is almost entirely mechanical.

When a boy composes such a verse as

Insignemque canas Neptunum vertice cano,

how is he guided to the proper collocation of the words? Not by his ear, certainly, for that would be struck precisely in the same manner if he wrote it

Insignemque cano Neptunum vertice canas ;

No ; he learns from books that the first of *cano* (I sing) is short, and the first of *canus* (hoary) is long. Having so used them, their respective quantity is stored up as a fact in his memory, and by degrees he remembers them so well, that when he sees either of them used in a wrong place, he thinks it offends his ear, while in truth it only offends his understanding. But I apprehend a Roman boy's process of composition would be quite different. Having been used from his cradle to hear the first syllable of *cānus* take up about twice as much time as that of *cāno*, such a verse as

Insignemque cano Neptunum vertice canas

would really hurt his ear, because in the second foot the thesis would be complete before the syllable was expressed, and he would have a time or *σημεῖον* too much ; and in the sixth he could not fill up the times of the arsis without giving

to the syllable a drawing sound, which would be both unusual and offensive.

I have said that our composition of classical verses is almost entirely mechanical. It is not, however, quite so ; the mechanical process being aided by a certain accentual rhythm, which, though extremely imperfect, serves as some guide to the ear, particularly where it is most needed, namely, at the close of the verse. A hexameter, for instance, is closed by a dactyl and spondee ; not that we have, musically or metrically speaking, the slightest notion of either : but when we talk of a dactyl and spondee, we mean five syllables so disposed, that an accent falls on the first and fourth, as “ *mágnus Ulýsses*,” “ *δῖος Οδύσσευς* :” but now make *Οδυσεύς* an oxytone ; this to a Greek or Roman ear would have made no difference, or rather, only a pleasing variety, but to us it spoils the verse, because it destroys that accentual rhythm, which is the only rhythm we have. It is true that the accentual rhythm is occasionally destroyed, even in Latin, by such terminations as

restituit rem
ridiculus mus ;

but these occur too seldom to disturb our general notions of versification.

The pentameter is closed by four syllables, of which the first and third are commonly accented, as “ *pósse pútes* ;” though this again is occasionally destroyed by such a termination

as “*sævítiaë*.” Nor is this accentual rhythm our only assistance in classical versification. The modern scholar who has read Virgil and Ovid with attention is enabled to imitate them successfully in their *cæsura* or break. What clause or foot of a verse ought to end with a sentence or with a word, cannot be indifferent in any poetry ; but in Latin and Greek we know that particular attention was paid to it. This subject has been so carefully studied by modern scholars, that it may perhaps be doubted whether Porson did not know the rules for the *cæsura* as well as Euripides ; though he knew less of the reasons for them than the lowest mechanic who saw the plays of Euripides from the two-obolus gallery.

And before we take too much credit for the correctness of modern versification, we should bear in mind that we are our own judges. When we say that a scholar’s verses are Virgilian, we mean that they read like Virgil to us, who read Virgil ill. What would Virgil say ? is a question which ought sometimes to be asked, though it never can be answered.

CHAPTER V.

1. ALTERATION OF MARKS.—2. CORRUPTION OF ACCENTS.

ALTERATION OF MARKS.

1. I MIGHT perhaps have availed myself of the manner in which I have found it convenient to state the question respecting the Greek accents, so as to avoid altogether any historical inquiry into the subject. I might have rested satisfied with the grammatical proof which has been obtained of the correctness of the marks in the manuscript of Theophilus. I am not called upon to answer any general observations on the corruption of accents or on the vitiation of marks. I am contented to show a certain number of marks on a given passage of a given manuscript, and to bring proof from writers of unquestionable authority that those marks are in accordance with the pronunciation of well-educated men in the second century ; for though I do not find the very same words commented upon, the comments on words of precisely the same nature and formation may fairly have the same authority as if the writers had happened to give as instances the very same words which we meet with in Saint

Luke. *Επειδήπερ*, for instance, though apparently discrepant from the general rule, is borne out by what Apollonius says of a similar accentuation of *καθότι*; πολλοί, indeed, does not happen to be mentioned as an oxytone by any ancient writer, but that *καλή* was so, I learn from Athenæus, and therefore am justified in assuming that Theophilus was correct in his mark, till the contrary can be shown. Any doubt which we may at first entertain as to the correctness of the mark of *ἐπεχείρησαν* on account of the penultimate being long is set at rest by Herodian, who tells us that none but barbarians say *βουλῶμαι*. 'Το ἀνατάξασθαι a double objection may be made, that it ought to be paroxytone, either because the penultimate is long, or because the last syllable is so. The first is answered by our finding *τύραννος* used as a proparoxytone by Quintilian, and the second by the *Αρίσταρχοι* of Apollonius. *Διήγησιν* is really questionable, because what Herodian says of verbs may perhaps not be applicable to nouns; and we learn that Homer pronounced *ἐρῆμος* with a circumflex on the penultima. But we know from the same authority that the Attics made it a proparoxytone, and we are very unreasonable if we wish to speak Greek better than the Attics. For *περὶ* we have the authority of Apollonius, for though *κατὰ* happens to be the word mentioned, his disquisition on the *ἀναβιβασμὸς* shows that all the prepositions of two syllables were oxytoned when they stood before the noun. And not to

fatigue the reader by going further, I may say that I have produced undoubted authority for the marks of all the twenty verses. I am then justified in regulating my pronunciation accordingly: the rest of the manuscripts in the British Museum, or in all Europe, may be as faulty as you please; I maintain my proposition by sustaining the correctness of Theophilus. I have thought it convenient to put the argument into this shape, to show, that if we have grammatical proof for the existing marks, as I certainly think we have most abundantly, the many loose statements which we find in the works of our opponents as to the corruption of accents are really not entitled to any consideration. There are the marks to speak for themselves: if they are inconsistent with the pronunciation of the pure ages, no doubt they have been corrupted; if they agree with them, all conjectures that they must have been corrupted by such and such causes fall to the ground at once.

But as a general complaint has been made by many modern writers of the corruption of the Greek accents, as such complaint seemed at first sight to be borne out by the lamentably low state of modern Grecian literature, and therefore created a prejudice against the marks from the very circumstance of their representing the pronunciation now prevailing in Greece, I shall make a few observations on the subject.

Vossius begins with a general reflection on the short date of languages:—"Frustra simus, si id,

quod omnes norunt, velimus docere, quam nempe fluxa et lubrica res sit sermo humanus, quamque nullæ usquam terrarum reperiantur linguæ, quæ vel ad pauca sæcula integræ et inviolatæ perstiterint." (p. 15.) Now in answer to this general proposition, I only ask the reader to study a passage of Homer, and then one from Apollonius of Rhodes, to compare a chapter from Plato with one from Lucian. What avail against such evidence any general aphorisms on the short duration of language? aphorisms, which if used upon other subjects as they have been on this, would prove that the Chinese empire cannot have lasted long, and that the pyramids of Egypt were most likely built by the Saracens. Our argument here turns not upon particular words or letters, of which Horace's maxim is true:—

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere, cadentque,
Quæ nunc sunt in honore,

but upon a supposed fundamental change of all the accents of a perfect and wide-spread language.

It is necessary here again to remind the reader of the distinction between accents and accentual marks; because it is from the want of this distinction that some writers have unconsciously drawn a large portion of their fallacies, and have been enabled to make, with some appearance of candour, the most sweeping of their assertions. To state that since the time of Greek purity the accent has been corrupted, and that

since the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium the use of the marks has been corrupted, are two distinct propositions, resting on different grounds, and to be supported and refuted by totally different arguments. Many of the observations of Henninius as to the change of the use of "accents" have no meaning, unless he intends thereby to infer that the marks have been misplaced by the ignorance of those who transcribed them. It is indifferent to this theory whether the later Greeks did or did not corrupt their accents, that is, their pronunciation. These critics would say, we will not pronounce Saint Luke according to the marks in the manuscript of Theophilus, because we are persuaded that those marks, or at least as many of them as militate against our theories, have been corrupted by the ignorance of transcribers. Now an answer to this theory has been anticipated in the earlier part of this essay, in which the agreement of all the manuscripts has been pointed out. Laying aside for a moment all the authorities which have been cited from critics and grammarians, supposing Dionysius and Quinctilian had been lost, how is it possible to believe that so many copyists should invariably have made the same mistakes? This alone would perhaps be a sufficient refutation of such a theory; but a much stronger refutation remains in the pronunciation of the modern Greeks. Admitting it to be possible that all the copiers of manuscripts should have hit upon the same blunders, still this

could have had no effect on the pronunciation of those who never saw the manuscripts, and could not have read them if they had. I should think no one would distinctly affirm the pronunciation of whole districts and islands inhabited by illiterate husbandmen and fishermen to have been at first correct, so long as Aristophanes and other great grammarians preserved the integrity of the marks, and to have been afterwards corrupted by blindly following the marks of ignorant transcribers. And yet this is the only theory reconcileable with the doctrine, that the marks were altered by the copyists ; for with these marks, so altered, if they have been altered, do the accents of the modern Greeks, illiterate as well as learned, correspond in a very remarkable manner. It is impossible to convey by the pen the effect of this agreement, when heard, for the first time, by a person accustomed to write the accentual marks. It carries at once the strongest conviction, that they are speaking the very language of their forefathers ; and the more illiterate the Greek is, whom you hear so pronouncing his native tongue, the more forcible is the conviction that by tradition alone can he have learned this pronunciation. He calls it *πραγμάτων*, because he has heard his mother call it so ; and *πολλοί*, because he, poor fellow ! has never been taught, as we have, to write it as if it were an oxytone, and read it as if it were not : and if you take him to carry your game-bag, he calls out, on seeing a woodcock,

“ ἰδού, ἰδού ! ” in a tone which by no means leads you to suppose that he is thinking of Aristophanes of Byzantium. This agreement of his pronunciation with the marks extends to the exceptions as well as to the rules. He pronounces *κατεσκευασμένον* as well as *ἔδοξεν*. If the copyists had blindly followed the rule, that, where the last syllable is short, the accent is to be on the antepenultimate, they would have marked the word *κατεσκευάσμενον*. If mere negligence or ignorance had been their guide, we should have found the mark on one syllable in one manuscript, and on another in others. Their all agreeing to place it on the penultimate is a strong proof that they had a reason for so doing: and the only good, the only probable reason, is, that the people of their time did lay the accent on the penultimate. Any doubt on the subject is cleared up in a moment, when we hear the modern Greeks so lay it, as they invariably do. The same thing may be said of the opposite exception of throwing back the accent further than the general rule would allow: we have the same uniformity of manuscripts for *γενόμενοι*, and the same confirmation from the modern Greeks, who always make it a proparoxytone. And generally it may be said, that the accentuation of the Greeks of the present day confirms the authenticity of the marks in the manuscripts to a remarkable degree; supporting them in their general rules, and following them in their exceptions. Indeed there are very few

words in which my ear has detected a variation between the marks in manuscripts and the modern accents in well-educated Greeks. I might give instances in the words *οὐχὶ* and *ναίχῃ*, which are now pronounced *ὄχι* and *ναίσκι*. That this pronunciation is at least not barbarous, we may collect from Apollonius: “*Αναλογώτερά τε τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶη ἐν βαρεῖα τάσει, ἥχι, ναίχι, τοῦ οὐχὶ ὀξυνομένου.*” (*De Adverb. in Bekker Anecd. Græc.* p. 573.) The moderns pronounce *σταφύλη* (grapes) instead of *σταφυλή*, as we find it marked. There is this further variation in the speech of uneducated persons, that they are apt to carry the accent of the nominative to the oblique cases, without regard to the quantity of the last syllable, as *ἄνθρωποις* and *ἄνθρωπων*. Henninius quotes Simon Portus as an authority that some among the modern Greeks pronounce *ἀγιώτατη* and *ἄδικους*, and he considers this as a relic of the ancient accentuation. (s. 160.) I doubt whether *ἄδικους* is ever pronounced, except by those who also say *ἄνθρωποις*. Whether there may not be vestiges of what Henninius calls the ancient accentuation in some parts of Greece I know not. This accentuation is in truth no other than the Latin, which has probably borrowed some of its accents from the Æolic. Now we know that the Æolians used in some words a different accent from the Attic. I have never visited any of the Greek islands which were colonized by Æolians. I should not, even at this distance of time, be surprised to find

the inhabitants there throwing back the accent so as to make grave the last syllable of many words used as oxytones in the rest of Greece. Indeed it would be highly interesting to a scholar well-skilled in the distinctions of the different dialects of Greece, to inquire, whether any of these distinctions still subsist, or whether they have been gradually absorbed by the Attic, which became generally prevalent. The modern Greeks still preserve the distinction as to those verbal adjectives, which, when used in a passive sense, follow the general rule, but when in an active sense, have the accent on the penultimate, as *θεότοκος*, the offspring of a Deity, *θεοτόκος*, the mother of a Deity. This last epithet, which is applied by the Greeks to the Virgin Mary, is of too classical an origin to have been the produce of modern times. In the manuscript of Theodorus, written in 1292, is a list of feasts, among which is the birthday of the Virgin, “*Ἡ γέννησις τῆς ὑπερτάτης θεοτόκου*,” for so it is unquestionably to be read, though abridged to “*ὑπὲρ θ’ κου*.” There is an ancient monastery in the island of Corfu, dedicated to the *ὑψηλὴ θεοτόκος*, or as the common people usually call it, *θεοτόκη*. One of the noblest and most ancient families of that island is that of *Θεοτόκι*. See what a body of evidence this affords against an assertion, that the word used to be, and ought to be, *θεότοκος*, whether used in a passive or an active sense, that ignorant copyists first altered the mark, and

from thence the people learned to alter the accent. But their agreement with the manuscripts upon points which have attracted the notice and employed the pens of grammarians, however curious and striking, does not carry perhaps, after all, more practical conviction than the use of the commonest words: their courteous salutation, *καλ' ἡμέρα*, their cheerful *μάλιστα*, when asked to show the road, go further than an octavo volume to persuade one that they are using expressions handed down from their fathers. Then again the numerals, which, from their constant use from the games of the boy to the transactions of maturer age, are perhaps oftener pronounced, and transmitted by a closer tradition than any other words in the language; we here see that variety of accent, which has been pointed out as peculiar to the language, *ἕνας*, *δύω*, *τρῆς*, *τέσσαρες*, *πέντε*, *ἕξ*, *ἑπτὰ*, *ὀκτώ*, *ἐννέα*, *δέκα*. It has been remarked by antiquarians, that the games of a people are often handed down by an unbroken tradition from very remote times. I have seen Corfiote peasants sitting before the doors of a wine-shop, playing at a kind of drafts with pebbles on a board: I do not presume to fix the antiquity of this game; but it bears a strong resemblance to the description which Homer gives of the pastime of the suitors of Penelope:—

*Πεσσοῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔγερπον,
Ἥμενοι.* (Od. A. 107.)

If one person were to affirm that this game is

three thousand years old, and another, that in Homer's time the scores were called ἑπτα, ὀκτω, and ἑννεα, I might think both the assertions somewhat rash, but I am sure that the former has much more probability on its side than the latter.

While on the subject of modern language, I may observe, that what Quintilian says of the variety of the Greek and the monotony of the Latin accent, is not less strongly confirmed to this hour by the Italian than by the Greek pronunciation. Still does every word in the Italian language, with few exceptions, end with a grave accent. Most, if not all, of the exceptions are caused by a cutting off or contraction of the last syllable, *necessità* standing for *necessitate*, and *virtù* for *virtute*. The accent of words above two syllables seems still to depend on the rule handed down from their ancestors: *ttrano*, *ttrdnno*, *Cápua*, *Sorrénto*. The only exceptions I ever observed were the words *O'tranto* and *Tá'ranto*, the inhabitants whereof, in the names of their native cities, lay the accent on the first syllable: a peculiarity which would have gone a long way towards convincing me of their Grecian origin, even although history had been silent on the subject. Surely facts like these ought to make us slow in giving assent to a sweeping assertion, that a whole people has been misled by the blunders of copyists into altering the system and genius of the accentuation of their ancestors.

CORRUPTION OF ACCENTS.

2. Enough, perhaps, has been said to show the absurdity of supposing that the accentual marks have been corrupted by later copyists. And in truth, none of the writers in question have attributed the corruption of the accent to this cause singly : but as the ignorance and carelessness of later grammarians and copyists are enumerated among the causes of corruption, it is of importance to show that no such cause can have had any extensive agency. The only theory then, which can be supported in opposition to the manuscript of Theophilus, is, that since the time of purity the accents themselves have been corrupted. And this theory admits, and indeed generally supposes, that the marks are so far faithful, that they represent the pronunciation of the time when they were made. Now a person who maintains this theory, and gives it as a reason for not pronouncing the words as they are marked in the manuscript, virtually affirms that Plato and Demosthenes pronounced *πόλλοι, πράγματων* and *ἔδοξεν*, and that the contrary pronunciation has been introduced by corruption. And now let us ask, to what are we to attribute this corruption ? The cause most commonly assigned, and into which the others seem virtually to resolve themselves, is, contact with other nations. To deny that the Greeks, from their earliest times, were a people addicted to navigation and to com-

merce, would be to overlook the plainest evidences of their history, as well as the authentic traditions of their numerous and distant colonies. And in later times, besides their intercourse with foreigners on foreign shores, they saw on their own soil strangers from various countries, whom they received as guests, called in as allies, or submitted to as conquerors:

Dr. Gally says, "It is no improbable conjecture to suppose, that a corrupt manner of pronouncing some words in the Greek language was occasioned by Alexander's expedition into Asia. His army might have learned to accent some words according to the manner of the Asiatics; and as it is reasonable to think that many Asiatics went with them when they returned into Greece, these, we may be sure, were very faulty in this respect. Upon the death of Alexander two great empires were formed out of his conquests: one in Egypt under Ptolemy, and another in Asia under Seleucus. In both these kingdoms the pronunciation of the Greek language must have been greatly corrupted; and this corruption must have infected Greece itself, considering the intercourse and correspondence which was carried on between Greece and the two new kingdoms. Alexander died in the first year of the 114th Olympiad; upon which Ptolemy immediately began his reign, as Seleucus did his twelve years afterwards. In the first year of the 153rd Olymp., *i. e.* 156 years after the death of Alexander, Paulus Æmilius

conquered Greece and made it a Roman province, by which the genuine pronunciation and accentuation of the Greek language must have been further corrupted." (p. 128.) This is a specimen of the ease with which a favourite theory may be assumed by an author by no means deficient in learning or acuteness. Dr. Gally cites no authority to prove that the expedition of Alexander, and the foundation of the empires of his successors, had in fact the effect of corrupting the language; nor is it easy to see how such an effect could have been produced. Alexander led thirty thousand men, the greater part probably Macedonians, to the banks of the Indus; and though the news of his success no doubt drew after him great numbers of European as well as Asiatic Greeks, attracted by the search of military adventure, of commerce, or of knowledge, this was only a new direction to migration, and not an alteration in the habits of the people. Wherever they went they carried with them a strong spirit of nationality, and a contempt for barbarians, which the recent victories of Alexander were not likely to diminish. And of all their national distinctions, there was not one of which they were more proud than their language. Why then should they learn so hastily to corrupt it by the introduction of barbarous phrases and accents? Was the Spanish language corrupted by the conquest of America? or have the English learned, since the extension of their empire

in Hindostan, to pronounce their own tongue with Persian or Hindoo accents? And with respect to the Greeks themselves, it may be asked, how they were employed during the time when they were bringing their language to that exquisite degree of perfection which it had attained in the time of Demosthenes? They were engaged in commerce, in navigation, in founding colonies among nations whose pronunciation must have been as faulty, if differing from Greek be a fault, as that of the Egyptians or Persians, and keeping up constant communication with those colonies. The kingdoms founded by the Macedonian soldiers were only new colonies; nor is it probable, in the absence of direct evidence, that they should have had an effect on the mother-country, which was confessedly not produced by several previous centuries of extensive colonization. Neither is it by any means clear that the foundation of the kingdoms of Seleucus and Ptolemy must have had the effect of corrupting the Greek language at all. Is it not more reasonable to suppose, that so considerable an extension of the countries in which it was spoken, and that, too, just at the time when it had reached its perfection, would have a material effect in preserving it from corruption? In Egypt particularly, the munificent patronage of literary men, and the foundation of the Alexandrian library, seem likely means, if not of improving the language, at least of preserving it from corruption. Alexandria under the Ptolemies produced a series

of grammarians, who discussed with much nicety and industriously recorded the principles and construction of the Greek language.

As to the corruption which is supposed to have been occasioned by the conquest of Greece by the Romans, Dr. Gally cites no authority for it, nor am I aware of a single cotemporary writer who notices it. The Greeks, though inferior in arms, had the consolation of thinking themselves far superior in arts and language to their conquerors, and of being thought so by their conquerors themselves. The result was, that the Romans soon gave themselves up to the study of Greek so zealously, that no one was thought to have any claim to literature, who did not understand that language. They whose circumstances enabled them to travel, did not consider their education finished till they had visited Greece to perfect themselves in the language. In Cicero's time the study of Greek was universal: "Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat: propterea, quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur." (*Cicero pro Archia.* x.) When we consider that these expressions were addressed to a Roman audience, there is less reason to suspect them of exaggeration. And there are abundant proofs that this cultivation of Grecian literature went on increasing long after Cicero's time. Livy says, "Habeo auctores vulgo Ro-

manos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos." (ix. 36.) Quintilian recommends that a boy should learn Greek before Latin: but he adds, "Non tamen hoc adeo superstitiose velim fieri, ut diu tantum loquatur Græce aut discat, sicut plerisque moris est." (I. 1, 13.) That the Roman ladies had acquired a taste for the Greek language we learn from Juvenal, who remarks, with more force than delicacy, that they adopted the fashions and customs of Greece in every action of their lives. Now all this seems to be so far from being likely to corrupt the Greek language, that its obvious tendency is the other way. We learn much by teaching others; the Greek rhetoricians and grammarians who presided in the schools where foreigners were taught, would have their attention turned to the niceties of their own pronunciation, accents, and syntax, in a manner which could scarcely have happened between one Greek and another, who had learned all these things from their mothers. And accordingly we find that all the valuable treatises, from which our grammatical knowledge of Greek is derived, were written after those events, from which Dr. Gally dates the commencement of its corruption. Besides, when we come to the particular alterations in the accent which we are now discussing, Dr. Gally's theory, as far as it applies to the Romans, becomes preposterous. According to this theory, the Greeks, before they submitted to the Romans,

or even knew of their existence, pronounced *τόλοι, ἐδόξεν*, and *πράγματων*, which exactly corresponded with the accentuation of the Romans themselves, and afterwards they learned from their conquerors *ἔδοξεν* and *πραγμάτων*, sounds quite aliene from the Latin tongue, and stranger still, *πολλοί*, from a people who never had an oxytone disyllable in their own language.

Dr. Gally says, "I am apt to think that the present use of accents was introduced into the Greek language, when conquest and commerce, and other methods of intercourse, brought foreigners into Greece ; for then each was naturally led to pronounce Greek according to the accents which prevailed in his mother-tongue. For instance, he whose mother-tongue abounded in anapests (as the French, which hath no trisyllable that maketh a dactyl,) would naturally have placed the accent upon the last syllable, and made *ταπεινός* an oxytone, though the penultimate is long by nature. And he whose mother-tongue abounded in dactyls (as the English, which hath no trisyllable that maketh an anapest,) would naturally have placed the accent upon the antepenultimate, and pronounced *τύψασθαι* with the accent upon the first, though the last is long by nature, and the penultimate by position." (p. 105.) Such gratuitous assumptions may pass current with those who have not studied the subject, but will scarcely have any weight with those who know that all the varieties in the

Greek accents were discussed at a time when the language was in its full vigour and beauty. Canons are laid down respecting them, some of them founded in principle, and some merely arbitrary. Different opinions are entertained as to the accents of words and classes of words ; some scholars following one great critic, and some adhering to another : but the whole showing beyond controversy that the code of accents is a Greek code, established by Greek grammarians, for Greek reasons, and that there is not any necessity, nor indeed any ground, for recurring to foreign nations to account for the variety of the Greek accents.

The Goths who invaded the Greek empire did not make a settlement there ; their hasty ravages could have had no more effect in corrupting the language of the Greeks, than the Cossacks in 1814 in changing that of the French. The two fatal blows which laid low what was left of pure taste and literature by the successive invasions of the Crusaders and the Turks are out of the question, because the corruption, if such it be, which we are now discussing, was complete before these events took place. In a word, none of the great revolutions to which the Greek empire has been subjected seem to be sufficient to account for a change in the accentuation of the people ; particularly as the permanent and all-pervading influence of the greatest of all these revolutions, the Roman conquest, would have had a directly

contrary effect from that which Dr. Gally and Henninius suppose.

It may be further observed, that the influence of strangers, if it produced any effect, must have produced it unequally: it must have operated strongly on the capital, which was naturally the centre of attraction to the great mass of strangers, much less on the remote provinces, and scarcely at all on the numerous islands of the Ionian and *Ægean* seas. So that the corruptions which by that means crept into the accents of the inhabitants, and from thence into the marks of the writers of manuscripts, would have been of various kinds, according to the different languages from which they were taken, more plentiful in those written in the capital than in the provinces, and very rare in the remote and sequestered islands of the Archipelago, some of which must have given birth to some literary men, but all of which probably had churches and priests, and copies or extracts from the Scriptures many centuries before the Turkish invasion. But here again we appeal to the uniformity of the marks in the manuscripts, which show that the corruption, if it is one, is universal; for that all the extant manuscripts were written at Constantinople, and none in the remote provinces, seems in the highest degree improbable. Besides, it may be questioned whether any intercourse with foreigners would have the effect here attributed to it; and whether it would not be easier to root

out a language entirely, than to retain the language and alter the accentuation of it. As far as we are able to judge from experience, it would seem that an intercourse with foreigners tends rather to bring in new words than to alter the accentuation of the old. We probably owe the word "realm" to our Norman invaders; but it would require something more than the assertion of an ingenious critic to persuade us that our Saxon ancestors called it "kingdóm," and that our laying the accent on the first syllable of that word is a corruption introduced by our intercourse with foreigners. The Greek language has admitted many words from foreigners; military terms (as *πραιτώριον*), legal (as *κωδικίλλος*), terms for modern inventions (as *τουφέκι*, a gun): but it is as easy for a classical scholar to distinguish these from Hellenic words, as it is for us to discriminate between a Norman and a Saxon word. I admit that such terms as these would have been considered by the old Greek grammarians as barbarisms: "*Λέγομεν δὲ βαρβαρίζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλῳ λέξει χρωμένους· ὡς εἴ τις τὸ μὲν ὑπανχένιον κερβικάριον λέγοι, τὸ δὲ χειρόμακτρον, μάππαν.*" (*Herodian de Barbarismo et Solæcismo, Valchn. Ammon. p. 192.*) But ours is a question not of correctness of expression, but how far the introduction of new terms is likely to have altered the accents of the old.

Besides, in discussing the probable results of an intercourse with foreigners, we must remember

the particular habits of the people supposed to have been affected by it. Our accents are learned from our mothers, and not from our schoolmasters, and are continued by tradition from one generation to another just as effectually, whether there be a pure taste or a bad taste in literature, or no literature at all. Now the Greek women were from their retired and domestic habits very little likely to learn the accentuation of foreigners. Plato remarks in a passage already quoted (p. 35), that the women in his time preserved the ancient manner of pronunciation more strictly than the men. And though it would have been easy for Vossius or Gally to say that the habits of the women must have changed, we find a similar account of them from an eye-witness nearly two thousand years afterwards: "Viri Aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant: in primisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres, quibuscum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, meritis ille ac purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus." (*Letter of Philelphus, dated 1451, cited in the Life of John Argyropulus in Hædus de Græcis Illustribus, p. 189.*) I have already said, that the causes most commonly assigned for the corruption of the accents seem virtually to resolve themselves into one, that is, contact with other nations. Henninius enumerates six causes by which languages are corrupted and changed:—

1. Mere lapse of time.

2. Colonization ; for so I suppose we must understand "*Derivatio ad populos peregrinos.*"
3. Mixture of other languages.
4. Decay of learning.
5. Introduction of the language of a conquering nation into a subjugated country.
6. The utter destruction of a people. (s. 143.)

That the first of these causes alone has little or no influence has been already shown.

The last does not apply to the present case. The second, third, and fifth resolve themselves into one, namely, contact with other nations. The fourth does in the present case resolve itself into the same, because, though it might be possible for a nation, standing apart from all others, first to cultivate, and then by degrees to neglect, learning ; it was not so with the Greeks : their decay of learning is a decay accompanied by an intercourse with barbarians, and mainly attributable to the subjugation of the country by those barbarians. A mere decay of learning, proceeding from internal causes alone, could never have any effect upon the accentuation of the people, who might gradually lose the purity of taste, and the felicity of expression of their ancestors, without any change in their pronunciation. And generally we may conclude, that, to whatever causes we attribute a corruption in the accents, those causes must have worked by slow degrees, and could not have produced a revolution in the pronunciation at once throughout the whole

country where Greek was studied and spoken. They must also have operated more or less effectually according to the circumstances of the people affected by them. And yet we see by the manuscripts, that the accents in different parts of the world, where Greek was spoken and read, were precisely the same. Strange, that in no one corner of the world the pure accent of better times should have been preserved!—but much more strange, that all countries should have agreed or happened to corrupt it in the same manner, and should have adopted or laid down a regular and uniform code of depravation!

I have already adverted to the agreement between the accents of the Greeks of the present day with the marks in the manuscripts; and I have used that agreement to disprove the theory of the corruption of the marks by copyists. But this same state of facts ought also to make us hesitate in receiving too readily the notion, that the pure accentuation of the Greeks has been corrupted by the influx of foreigners, by the decay of learning, or by a combination of these with other causes. We ought not without proof to assume that certain effects were produced before the destruction of the Greek empire by causes which have been as actively at work since without producing any such effects. How happened it, that the Greeks, whom you affirm to have adopted so readily the accents of the nations with whom they came in contact while free,

have remained for so many centuries without introducing any fresh corruption from the nation by whom they were enslaved? If the decay of learning produced such effects as you suppose, what might we not have expected from the extinction of learning? And yet to be assured that the Greek accent has at least remained unchanged for the last six hundred years, we have only to compare the evidence of our own eyes with the evidence of our own ears. Surely this ought to make us slow in adopting the arbitrary assumption, that some time or other between the reign of Alexander and the thirteenth century, the accentuation, not of a word here and there, but of the whole language, must have been changed at once; or else, that it must have been altered gradually till the thirteenth century, when having attained a certain degree of corruption, the people should have carried this corruption no further, but should have maintained this vitiated system with an obstinacy as remarkable as the facility with which they had given up the purer accentuation of their ancestors. Our communication with modern Greece enables us to grapple more successfully with the Vossian theory, by taking a particular part of Greece, of which we know both the history and the present state, and so avoid the looseness which results from applying to Greece generally expressions applicable only to parts of Greece. It is easy to assume that such and such causes must have corrupted the

Greek accents ; but very difficult to point out any nation whose particular accents have been likely to work this corruption, or any particular spot where such corruption has left stronger traces than elsewhere. Let us leave generalities, and take a local habitation for the scene of our controversy. In the island of Corfu, all people, from the noble to the peasant, when they assent to a proposition, say *μάλιστα*. You say this is a corruption : the ancient Corcyræans, who understood quantity, called it *μαλίστα*. From whom then did they learn to lay the accent on the first syllable ? The foreigners, with whom they first came in contact, were the Romans ; but from them they could not have learned to place the accent on the first syllable, because the Romans would have agreed with them in laying it on the second. The next masters of the island were the Venetians : would they teach this throwing back of the accents ? Dr. Gally would seem to think they might. He says, “ As some parts of Greece were under the dominion of the Venetians, it is probable that the modern Greeks learned this method of accentuation from the Italians, who sometimes place the accent upon the fourth from the last ; as *séquitano*, *visitano*, *desíderano*, *consíderano*.” (p. 101.) In the first place, this reasoning proves too much, as the Greeks never do throw the accent further back than the antepenultimate. But it is evident that the modern Italians in these words place the accent on the

same syllable with their ancestors, *desiderano* being only a corrupt or vulgar modification of *desiderant*. If the Venetians had ever pronounced *cónosco* or *rdgaxxo*, these would weigh something in the argument. Again, how should the Venetians, who resided principally in the city of Corfu, have introduced their accentuation all over an island through which there were no carriage-roads till after its occupation by the English? But supposing the Corfiote to have derived *μάλιστα* from the Venetians, from whom had he *Χριστός*? How could the Venetian, who always lays his accent on the first syllable, have taught the Corfiote to lay it on the last? If the theory of Dr. Gally had been, that the pronunciation was originally *Χριστὺς*, and changed by corruption to *Χρίστος*, there would have been some ground for laying this corruption to the charge of the Venetians, who say *Crísto*. But the theory is just the reverse; and the use of oxytones cannot surely be traced to those who have none in their own language. Here again the Turks are out of the question, having never succeeded in making themselves masters of this island. Neither is there any ground for supposing that a complete extinction of ancient learning had taken place in Corfu at the time when the Turks possessed themselves of Greece. Hody mentions several learned Corcyræans who flourished about that time, and particularly Eparchus, who was Greek professor at Venice about 1445, and afterwards

returned to his own country, where he passed his old age in literary pursuits. He possessed a collection of one hundred Greek manuscripts, and composed elegiac verses on the Turkish conquest. (*Hodius de Græcis Illustribus*, II. 10.) And yet the accentuation of the Corfiotes is precisely the same as that of the inhabitants of other parts of Greece, who have changed their masters oftener; all of them agreeing with the marks of the manuscript of Theophilus, and all of them therefore having remained unchanged for six centuries. These remarks, drawn from what we know of the later period of the history of Greece, ought to make us careful in admitting the sweeping assertions of Dr. Gally and others, that the Persian invasion, the Greek dynasties in Asia, the Roman conquest, the Gothic irruption, or the Turkish despotism, must have had the effect of corrupting the accents. Against such assertions, it is surely a fair course of argument to canvass each of these events by itself, and to dispute the probability of that event having had the effect imputed to it. But I admit that, on either side of the question, such speculations weigh but little against positive testimony of grammarians. If from that testimony it can be collected that the marks or the accents have been altered, all conjecture derived from history falls to the ground; and it only remains to inquire, whether the alteration is to be attributed to a succession of political events, not one of which by itself seemed likely to effect it;

or whether we should seek for the roots of it in the silent working of other causes, which history has been less careful to record. So that I again turn back from the balance of probabilities, whichever way that balance may be thought to incline, to the only safe guide, namely, the positive authority of grammarians who wrote before any corruption could have commenced : and this positive authority I contend we have in support of the marks in the manuscripts to an extent which forms a proof falling little short of certainty ; a proof which at once destroys the most plausible conjectures of modern scholars, and which will one day overcome the habits and prejudices of our schools and universities.

CHAPTER VI.

1. MODERN GREEK.—2. ACCENTUAL POETRY.—3. ENGLISH POETRY.—4. CONCLUSION.

MODERN GREEK.

1. BEFORE I quit the subject of the Greek language, I wish to call the attention of my readers, and particularly such of them as have leisure for travelling and for a more extended course of study on the subject, to a source of information which most modern classical scholars have fastidiously passed by. Notwithstanding the low state of literature and taste to which Greece has been reduced, I think, not only that our knowledge of the pure Hellenic may be improved by the conversation and writings of modern Greeks, but that it is very imperfect without them.

I have, for the reasons stated at the outset, supported my arguments by passages taken exclusively from authors born before the second century. But I feel satisfied, that any impression, which these quotations may have produced, will only be strengthened by a judicious inquiry into the works of later authors. The date, which I have assigned to the continuance of the purity

of Grecian language, is merely arbitrary. After Athenæus, upon whom I rely, comes Longinus, whose knowledge is less miscellaneous, but whose taste is much better. Upon him follows close Porphyry, and then the Greek Fathers. In the dearth of pure taste and sound literature which followed, we have still evidence from time to time of men who at least knew how to appreciate, and who cultivated with industry, the learning of their ancestors. Of these Eustathius is the most important, as he evidently was well-versed in the writings not only of the poets and historians, but also the grammarians, of the pure age of Grecian literature. And again, after about two centuries of lamentable decay, there appeared a host of learned Greeks, who flying from the Turkish invaders of their country, found an asylum in the West, and became at once the rivals and companions, the teachers and the pupils of the great Italians who received them.

Many of these learned Greeks wrote upon the grammar of their own language: and nothing in their works is more striking than their unity, their strict agreement with the old writers. In treating of the accents particularly, they lay down the rules precisely in the same manner, often in the same words, as the ancients, without ever dropping the remotest hint that any change had taken place in them.

Then follows a dark period, during which Greece, as much oppressed and as much cor-

rupted by her Christian as by her Mahometan masters, had nothing left but hope. Happily, however, for the fortunes of the human race, such a genius and such a literature as that of Greece once was, is not easily extinguished. With the first revival of liberty, or rather with the first dawn which announced it, returned a taste for the works of their ancestors. In the history of the revival of Grecian literature, the name of Coray will stand conspicuous: but will Coray stand by himself? I own I have better hopes of the prospects of Greece. I think that his name will only be the first in order of time of a long list of critics, poets, historians, statesmen and preachers. With some of these I have discussed the lore of their forefathers in happier hours and under brighter skies than I can ever hope to see again. Time alone can show how much of the hope which I cherish of a brilliant futurity for them and for their country is owing to the partiality of friendship.

But I think that valuable information respecting the Hellenic language may be derived, not only from the writings and the conversation of learned modern Greeks, but from the language as it is now spoken in the streets and the fields. During the course of this inquiry, we have found the modern Greeks, after so many political revolutions, and after the lapse of so many centuries, still using unchanged the accents of their ancestors. In discussing the sound of each particular

letter, I did not think myself at liberty to draw any argument from the pronunciation now subsisting in Greece, but confined myself to the testimonies of ancient writers. But the inquiry being finished, I feel entitled to draw from the result of it an induction highly favourable to the correctness of the modern pronunciation. Of the twenty-four letters, of which their alphabet is composed, we may say with certainty, as far as such a word is applicable to a subject not capable of actual demonstration, that they pronounce nineteen as well-educated Greeks did two thousand years ago. Three, the Z, the H and the Y, they pronounce differently. In the two doubtful cases of B and Δ, is the authority of the modern Greeks to go for nothing? On the contrary, it is obvious that the probability of their pronunciation being right is as nineteen to three, or more than six to one. And as to the three which they pronounce differently from Dionysius, we must not hastily conclude that they have introduced any change from a contact with other nations. Plato teaches us, in a passage already cited (p. 35), that with respect to the H and Y at least we must look to Greece, and to Greece alone, for the confounding these letters with the I and with each other. If we make the same inference from the expressions of Plato, which Vossius does from those of Eustathius as to the accent of ἑρημος, if the ancients (οἱ παλαιοὶ) must needs be right, and whatever succeeding generations alter (μεταστρέφουσιν) is

to be attributed to corruption, we are warranted in sounding and writing the word *ἡμέρα*, and the iotacism would be the best, because the oldest, mode of pronunciation. So that this peculiarity, instead of being introduced by modern corruption, is in all probability older than Plato, and has been handed down by a perpetual tradition of uneducated persons, until it has become, by the almost total extinction of polite education, the language of the whole nation. Indeed we find that the Spartans substituted the I for the H in many words, and if so, perhaps the inhabitants of all Peloponnesus and of the Dorian colonies. Quinctilian enumerates among the mispronunciations to be avoided the *ῥωτακισμούς*. (I. 5. 32.) The Greeks having invented a name for it, shows it was prevalent in Greece. This iotacism I found less disagreeable than I expected, because it comes to the ear for the first time coupled with so pleasing a pronunciation of most of the other letters as to make one forget its vulgarity. Nor have I observed that the use of the same sound for six different vowels and diphthongs creates any ambiguity in discourse; the subject spoken of serving always to explain what is meant. This may readily be understood by any one who remembers that *ai, aie, ait, ais, aient, ois, oit, oient, é, es, est*, are in French all pronounced alike, and yet without any uncertainty or inconvenience: though it will be easy for future critics to assert that they could not do so, or that, if they did,

they must have learned it from the Cossacks or the Algerines.

The modern pronunciation of the Z, though differing from that laid down by Dionysius and Herodian, must have been not only known but common in the time of Lucian, who uses the Z to represent the common pronunciation of *Σμύρνα*, which it does exactly to this day.

One peculiarity of the modern Greeks, which I have already mentioned, is, that when the letters ΝΠ come together they change the power of both, turning the first into a M, and the latter into the English B. That the first of these changes at least was common in very ancient times, appears from numerous inscriptions. We find ΜΕΜ ΠΟΛΙΣ for *μὲν πόλις* in the Potidæan inscription. Rose gives eleven similar instances, all before the Archonship of Euclid, which took place B.C. 403. (*Inscript. Græc. Prolegom.* p. 45.) It has been shown that the modern pronunciation of three at least of the diphthongs is correct: the iotacism of the ΟΙ may perhaps be justly suspected: but the mispronunciation, if it be one, of this diphthong is much more likely to be ancient and national than derived from foreigners, to be in short rather a vulgarism than a barbarism. I would further ask those writers, who so readily suppose a rapid corruption of the language from contact with other nations, how they account for its having remained unchanged for the last three centuries. That it has so remained, is clear from

the Erasmian controversy, as shown by the "Sylloge" of Havercamp, in which we find a discussion of every peculiarity of the pronunciation then prevailing, and not one which does not prevail now. Mr. Hallam mentions a manuscript in the British Museum, containing the Lord's Prayer in Greek, written in Anglo-Saxon characters, the date of which he supposes to be about the eighth century, and proving the pronunciation to have been at that time "modern or Romaic, and not what we hold to be ancient." (*Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, &c. 1837. I. 120, note.) If the language had been gradually corrupted down to the eighth century, how has it happened that the same cause prevailing for ten centuries more has had no further effect?

In discussing the correct pronunciation of the language, I have not insisted upon those ancient inscriptions, in which we find one letter for another, as E for AI. Such an inscription does not prove that the AI diphthong was pronounced like E by the learned, because it must have been made by an ignorant stone-cutter; but it proves at least that the stone-cutter so pronounced it himself, and so makes an end of its being a barbarism derived from later ages and foreign countries. Liscovius has with much industry collected these inscriptions, and arranged them in chronological order. He candidly confesses, that the result of his inquiry has been to find the modern pronunciation older, much older, than the Erasmians

believe, and than he himself expected and wished. (p. 179.)

The omission, too, of the initial aspirate seems very likely to be a Grecian vulgarism. We know how apt our own aspirate, though so strongly marked, is to be neglected by the uneducated part of the community: so that if we could suppose a general extinction of learning in this country, it is by no means unlikely that the initial H would in the course of a few centuries become extinct through a large portion, if not the whole of England. The H in the middle of our words has already been lost: we pronounce *when* and *wen* alike; why was the former word written with an H, but that that letter was once generally pronounced in England as it generally continues to be in Scotland? It is remarkable that the initial aspirate has sustained the same fate in Italy as in Greece. Is then the omission of it in Italy a barbarism? Before we answer too hastily in the affirmative, let us hear Quintilian:—“*Apud nos potest quæri, an in scripto sit vitium, si H litera non est notata? cujus quidem latio mutata cum temporibus est sæpius. Parcissime ea veteres usi etiam in vocalibus, cum ædos, ircosque dicebant.*” (I. 5. 19.)

But I believe that not only in the pronunciation, but in the structure of the modern Greek it will be found, upon critical and candid inquiry, that much, which at first sight strikes us as barbarous, is only ancient. Many of their expres-

sions are Homeric, as κάμνω for ποιῶ, like Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεύχων. So σκοτώνω (I kill) reminds us of σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψε. I remember one day in Albania asking a Greek the cause of the report of guns in a neighbouring wood; the answer was “σκοτώνουν φάσσης” (they are killing wood-pigeons): this at the time sounded very barbarous to my ear; but the first word is formed by syncope from σκοτώνουσιν; and the second, though less usual than τρύγων, is a classical word, and is found in Athenæus (ix. 50.), and in its Attic form φάττα, in Aristophanes (*Aves*, 303). Νερὸν, the modern expression for water, I suspect to be an older Greek word than ὕδωρ, and to be the root whence the water-nymphs were called Nereids. The modern term for a rose is τριαντάφυλλον. Herodotus speaks of gardens in Macedonia which produced roses ἐν ἑκάστον ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα. (*Uran.* 138.) And Athenæus quotes Theophrastus as saying that some roses are composed of five leaves (πεντάφυλλα), some of twelve, and some of a hundred. (xv. 682.) I know not whether this statement be botanically correct, but it leaves little doubt that the term is an ancient epithet for a rose, which has by degrees come to be used as a substantive; and in the same way μονόξυλον, which must have been an epithet for πλοῖον, is now commonly used for a small boat.

Ψάρι, the vulgar word for fish, is evidently an abbreviation from ὀψάριον, which was used by

Plato and Menander. (*Athen.* ix. 35. *St. John*, vi. 9.)

The modern Greeks constantly use the termination of nouns in I, as κοπί (oar), παιδί (child), which is probably very ancient, and of which we have an instance in the Scholium or Hymn of Callistratus:—

Εν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω.

And their laying the accent on the last syllable of these words is a confirmation of the mark which we find on the penultimate of παιδίον and similar words, though contrary to the general rule.

The auxiliary verb, though used sparingly by the old Greeks, was not unknown to them, as ἔχω θαυμάσας (*Sophocl. Œd. Col.* 1140.), ἔχει περάνας (*Id. Ajax*, 22.), οὐδέπω λήξαντ' ἔχει (*Id. Œdip. Tyr.* 730). So in the passage, εἶπερ, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, νῦν οὗτος ἐθέλει κρατῆσαι (*Aristoph. Vesp.* 534.), ἐθέλει is merely auxiliary: the sense being, not “if he wishes to conquer,” (for every candidate of course does that), but, “if, which Heaven forbid, he shall conquer.” Ἀς ἴδωμεν (let us see) is by syncope from ἄφες. Economus tells us, that in the Morea they say ἄς τον (let him go) instead of ἄφες αὐτόν. (p. 515.) Their negative δὲν is evidently an abbreviation from οὐδὲν, which we find occasionally used for οὐχί, as in Plato (*Cratyl.* c. 16):—Εοικέ τι ὃ λέγω τῷ ἀληθεῖ, ἢ οὐδέν; the answer is, πάνν μὲν οὖν ἔοικε. Indeed the very word δὲν is used by Alcæus, as we learn from the great etymologist. Αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ οὐδεὶς τὸ

οὐδέτερον δὲν, χωρὶς τῆς οὐ παραθέσεως ἔχομεν παρὰ Ἀλκαίῳ ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ. In voce οὐδεῖς. The etymologist derives οὐδεῖς, not from the commonly received combination of οὐδὲ εἷς, but from οὐ and δεῖς, equivalent to τίς, from whence is derived ὁ δεῖνα. This etymology is adopted by Mr. Donaldson (*New Cratylus*, p. 190), and it is strengthened by this usage of the modern Greeks, who are less likely to have split the negative, and retained one letter of it, than to have sunk it altogether, as the French have in their expression of “personne” for nobody. The use of οὐδεμία in the feminine certainly makes against this etymology, but not conclusively : it being by no means improbable that this feminine form was invented later, and taken loosely from οὐδὲ εἷς, without due attention to its original derivation.

ACCENTUAL POETRY.

2. Even the poetry of modern Greece, uncouth as it appears to a classical ear, is not hastily to be fathered upon a barbarous age. The modern Greeks in their verse attend to accent alone, without any regard to quantity. It may perhaps excite our surprise, that, while they preserved many of the manners and customs of their ancestors, they should thus have entirely lost the ancient rhythm. But the origin of that rhythm is in truth much more extraordinary than its extinction. That a people in so early an age should have been gifted with so refined an ear as to make

the length of their syllables the basis of their popular poetry, would have been scarcely credible without the undoubted proof which we have of the fact. Homer's metre ought to excite our wonder as much as Homer's sentiments. But when we speak of a whole people having attained such a degree of refinement, we must be careful not to use the term "people" in too extensive a sense. We know that before Homer's time slavery was the ordinary lot of a vanquished nation ; the hewing of wood and drawing of water, the drudgery of tillage, the manufactures which required irksome or unhealthy labour, were in a great measure imposed upon slaves. So that those who carried on war and politics, and who filled up their intervals of leisure with games and music and poetry, were in truth, though styling themselves the people, only a rich, warlike, eloquent and refined aristocracy. These fortunate citizens would learn poetry from the direct instruction of the masters of that art ; and still more from their performances at feasts and public assemblies. Thus poetry coupled with music would be handed down, by a traditional education, to a class of citizens, who in the best times formed a small portion of the whole population. In the later ages of the Greek empire, it is probable, that the proportion of those, who understood the rhythm and the principles of the ancient poetry, would be decreased ; and at the time of the Turkish invasion, the greater part of them

were probably reduced to slavery. The few, who carried their literature to the West, found there the accentual poetry in such general use and esteem, that their precepts on the mode of observing chronic rhythm, perhaps not much appreciated, and certainly soon forgotten, have ceased with them, and perhaps ceased for ever.

We find, however, that the Greeks have now a popular poetry of their own; the Turks know this to their cost: for nothing did so much to revive the liberty of Greece as the heart-stirring compositions of her poets. These compositions are framed according to accent alone, without regard to quantity. We find the same species of verses, usually called *πολιτικοὶ στίχοι*, very frequent in the later ages of the Greek empire. These accentual verses have been spoken of by scholars with much contempt; and contemptible indeed they appear when put into competition with the exquisite compositions of their ancestors: but if compared with the poetry of the rest of modern Europe, they will be found by no means deficient; being generally as regular in their cadence as the Italian, and much more so than the English or the French.

Nothing appears more natural, than to take as the basis of versification the accents, which strike at once upon the most unrefined ear, instead of quantity, which requires some nicety of sense, and some knowledge of music, in the recitation at least, if not in the composition of it. But when

did the Greeks first learn or invent this system of versification, so much less technical, and probably so much less agreeable, than their ancient metre? The fastidious scholar gives the careless and unphilosophical answer, it was a barbarism of the middle ages. Nay, some critics have gone so far as to suppose that the accentual verses were intended to be metrical, and are therefore a mere tissue of blunders. This is sufficiently confuted, if confutation were wanting, by the fact, that John Tzetzes composed verses of both kinds with equal correctness, the one doubtless for the few, and the other for the many. The accentual verse consisted of fifteen syllables, disposed according to two general rules; first, that the odd syllables should be without accent; second, that the even syllables should be accented: as,

Οπό|σον δύ|ναιτο|λαβεῖν|ἐκέ|λενε|χρυσί|ον.
 Αννί|βας ὡς|Διό|δωρος|γράφει|καὶ Δί|ων ᾤ|μα.

(Cited from Tzetzes by Fost. p. 113.)

The first rule has exceptions, as that the first syllable has often the accent instead of the second, and the ninth instead of the tenth. Besides monosyllables, particularly articles and conjunctions, as τοῦ, καὶ, though accented, are constantly admitted into the uneven places.

The second rule has numerous exceptions from necessity, in allowing unaccented syllables of polysyllabic words to occupy the even places: it is obvious that, without this indulgence, many words of three syllables and all of four and up-

wards must be entirely excluded, because no word has more than one accent: this accounts for the last syllable of *δύναιτο* and *ἐκέλενε* falling into places which ought to have an accent. These rules, and the exceptions also, are exactly applicable to English verse.

“ Even the variations of the place of the accent are mostly the very same that our accentual measure of the same kind admits. A complete passage will show this perhaps more satisfactorily than the unconnected lines above quoted from Dr. Foster’s essay. I have no opportunity of giving such a passage from the works of Tzetzes, but the following from Constantinus Manasses may serve equally well:—

Ο γάρ τοι παῖς τοῦ Κώνσταντος, ἄρτι λαβὼν τὰ σκῆπτρα,
(Τοῦνομα δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ βρεφύθεν Κωνσταντίνος)
Στόλφ βαρεῖ τὴν Σικελῶν καταλαμβάνει νῆσον·
Καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτόχειρας καὶ τοὺς ὀλεθρεργάτας
Τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πατρὸς ἐνδίκως ἀποσφάττει,
Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Μιζίζιον τὸν τετυραννηκότα.”

(*Mitford on the Harmony of Language*, ed. 1774, p. 247.)

These verses seem to have been framed, as to the number of their syllables, in imitation of the tetrameter catalectic iambics, which are so frequently used by Aristophanes, as,

Κἄν μὴ, καλούντων, τοὺς μοχλοὺς χαλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες,
(*Lysistrat.* 316.)

which I have selected because it happens to be an accentual as well as a chronical verse.

When scholars conversant with chronic metre, for so Tzetzes at least unquestionably was, con-

descended to compose this accentual poetry, were they essaying a late invention, or continuing an ancient usage? Henninius assumes that the invention was late, and draws from that assumption an unwarrantable conclusion:—"Ex hoc vero ipso versuum genere evidentissime apparet priscis Græcis ignotos fuisse accentus: cur enim hos versus ignorarunt? nullam certe aliam ob causam, quam quod barbariem nescirent, cujus pronuntiationem hi versus habent pro fundamento." (s. 62.)

But were the ancient Greeks ignorant of accentual verses? Dionysius, in order to illustrate the charm which the apt position of words has upon our ears, takes the following lines from Homer:—

Αλλ' ἔχον, ὥστε τάλαντα γυνή χερνήτης ἀληθῆς,
 Ἡ τε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἶριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει,
 Ἰσάζουσ', ἵνα παισὶν ἀεκέα μισθὸν ἄρῃται.

"This metre," he says, "is heroic, hexameter, acatalectic, scanned by dactylic feet." Now out of these very same words, by transposing their position, I will make the verses tetrameter instead of hexameter, and accentual (*προσωδικούε*) instead of heroic:—

Αλλ' ἔχον ὥστε γυνή χερνήτης τάλαντ' ἀληθῆς,
 Ἡ τ' εἶριον ἀμφὶς καὶ σταθμὸν ἔχουσ' ἀνέλκει,
 Ἰσάζουσ', ἵν' ἀεκέα παισὶν ἄρῃται μισθόν.

Such as the Priapeian, or, as some call them, Ithyphallic verses: as,

Οὐ βέβηλος, ὡς λέγεται, τοῦ νέου Διονύσου,
 Κἀγὼ δ' ἐξ εὐεργεσίης ὀργιασμένος ἦκω."—(IV. 28.)

Hephæstion cites these last two lines in the same

words, except that in the first he reads ὦ τελεταί, instead of ὡς λέγεται: he calls them Priapeian, and attributes them to Euphorion the Chersonesiot. (*De metris*, c. 16.)

Comparing these two lines of Euphorion with those of Tzetzes and Manasses, we find them precisely the same in cadence: and then Dionysius calling them προσωδικοῦς seems to place it beyond a question that they are framed according to accent. The three accentual verses of Dionysius are less regular; but we must remember that he had restricted himself to the very same words which he found in Homer, and that his main object was not to compose accurate verses, but to show how completely different a rhythm and cadence might result from a transposition of the same words. These Priapeian songs were probably popular in the fullest sense of the word: they were sung at the vintage, at the jolly harvest-home of the grape, by boors and slaves, who forgot for the day their sorrow and degradation, and as they had shared in the labour, shared also in the joy. Such a company would scarcely appreciate metre, and certainly would not be able to recite it. Nothing seems more natural than that they should give vent to their mirth in a ruder and less technical system of verse. It is true, that Hephæstion, in giving these verses, treats them as metrical. It is possible, that if Hephæstion were a mere scholar, born and bred in cities, he might be so ignorant of the manners of the

country as not to know that these verses were accentual, and he might accordingly proceed to torture them into metre, as Quintilian tells us that some grammarians in his own time did lyric poetry (in certam mensuram coëgerunt). And this supposition conveys not the least disrespect to the authority of Hephæstion as a scholar of taste, industry and learning, but only suggests that he may have been wanting, as better scholars than he have been, in that knowledge of the various ways of men which books cannot give. Neither is he able to reduce them to any fixed metre ; classing them among the πολυσχημάτιστα, which he defines to be such verses, as without any regularity admit of a variety of cadence, according to the arbitrary choice of the poet. But without further discussing whether they ought to be considered as accentual or not, it is enough for my purpose, that Dionysius so considered them : and admitting him to have been mistaken as to the rhythm of Euphorion's verses, we must surely allow him to know what he meant to be the rhythm of his own. So that instead of hastily concluding these accentual verses to be the mere creatures of barbarism, we are led by this passage of Dionysius into a new and interesting inquiry, how far Greece may be looked upon as the mother, not only of ancient, but of modern poetry ; and whether the Troubadours, and particularly those of Marseilles, sung in a cadence derived by tradition from Hellenic ancestors.

ENGLISH POETRY.

3. While on the subject of accentual poetry, it may be remarked that there is less wonder, if we are at a loss to settle the principles of Greek rhythm, when some of our ablest writers are by no means agreed upon our own. Many of them, in treating of the structure of English verse, seem to consider that it consists in quantity, and speak of iambics, anapæsts, spondees and dactyls, as if our verses were divided into metrical feet, and these feet were measured by long and short syllables. The very use of such expressions seems to imply, that the ear of the person using them is insensibly confusing accent and quantity, though perhaps in the same page he may show that his understanding is alive to their difference. Nothing can more forcibly show how liable an English ear is to this confusion, than our discovering it where we should least expect to find it, namely, in the work of that very critic, who has given us the clearest definitions of accent and quantity, and pointed out in the most perspicuous manner the distinction between them. Dr. Foster, in speaking of the quantity of the English language, after ably confuting the proposition, that the languages of the northern nations, including our own, have no quantity, thus proceeds:—

“ If the voice is retarded in some syllables and quickened in others, by what cause soever that delay or rapidity be occasioned or directed, there

is truly and formally long and short quantity. When in the words *hōněstlŷ, chārăctěr*, I dwell longer on the first syllable than on either of the two last, which I hurry over swiftly, the last two are the short ones, notwithstanding the consonants with which to the eye they appear to be clogged ; and had there been six consonants instead of three in those last two syllables, if my voice should in practice hasten over each of them in less time than it does over the first, which is disencumbered with consonants, the latter syllables would certainly have a short quantity, and the first a long one. And thus it must appear to every one, who will not suffer his eyes to judge for his ears." (p. 16.) Now though it be certain, that those syllables are short, which in practice are hastened over in less time than the others, yet I doubt whether such a process can take place in the English, with respect to the words which Dr. Foster has selected. In the word "honestly," the consonants S and T must meet not only the eye, but the ear too ; and that they may do so, it is necessary that there should be two distinct operations of the organs, or, as Henninius expresses it, the action of different muscles of the mouth, which take up about twice the time which is required for the first syllable. It is true, that the English might, if they pleased, protract the sound of the first syllable, so as to make it as long, or even longer than the second. But do they in fact do so? Unless I am to suffer the ears of

another to judge for mine, I should say that they do not : and I suspect that Dr. Foster's assertion that they do, is caused by the confusion which his ear has made between accent and quantity in English, notwithstanding the ability which he has shown in distinguishing them in Greek. He afterwards says :—

“The case is, we English cannot readily elevate a syllable without lengthening it, by which our acute accent and long quantity generally coincide, and fall together on the same syllable.” And in the note he cites the authority of Dr. Johnson, who, in the rules of prosody prefixed to his Dictionary, considers the acute tone and long quantity in English verse as equivalent by acting together. On a point of recondite learning I should be unwilling indeed to oppose my opinion to that of Dr. Foster and Dr. Johnson ; but here the question lies open to the decision of our own ears : and I beg the reader to pronounce aloud the words “honesty, responsibility, cavalry, suicide,” and mark the length of time which each syllable takes in the delivery, and then say whether the acute accent and long quantity coincide in them, or whether some of the syllables which are depressed do not, in each of those words, take up more time than that which is elevated. And having given these words as instances, I will venture to say, that we shall end, not by confirming Dr. Foster's rule, but by doubting whether the English has not as many

accented syllables short, and as many unaccented syllables long, as the Greek. Neither do I think that there is any tendency in my countrymen to dwell long on the accented syllables. When, in reading Latin poetry, we come to the word "Thámyris," we give it, as I apprehend, the proper accent and quantity: the fault we commit in Latin poetry being, not that we dwell too long on the short syllables, but that we do not dwell enough on the long ones. So to the second syllable of "Mæónides" we rightly give a short quantity and an acute accent. Now when we make English words of these names, and read them so,

Blind Thámyris, and blind Mæónides,

do we dwell longer on the accented syllables than we did in Latin? Certainly not. The verse is purely accentual, and our ears are satisfied with finding the accent on the proper syllables, without any reference to quantity at all.

Dr. Foster indeed admits that the coincidence of the acute accent and long quantity in our language is not universal. He states as an instance, that the accent is on a short syllable in "prívy," though on a long one in "príivate." (p. 25, note.)

In giving an account of our poetry, Dr. Foster says:—

"Our common epic verse, consisting of five feet, is trimeter iambic brachycatalectic,

Añ hōnēst mān's|thē nōblēst wōrk|ōf Gōd."—(p. 29.)

He marks the line as a pure iambic. I appeal to

the reader's ear : dismiss all consideration of the elevation of syllables, and recite this line with the attention confined to their quantity, that is, to the time which each takes up, and mark them accordingly : the result of my own ear's judgment is this :—

A'n hōnēst mǎn 's thē nōblēst wōrk ōf Gōd.

Other ears may differ in some syllables from mine, but how many will make it a pure iambic? Dr. Foster's admission that the coincidence of the acute accent and the long quantity in our language is not universal, and the instance which he selects as an exception, enable me further to show our poetry not to be iambic, by this test, that, provided the even syllables be accented, it is immaterial whether they be long or short :—

He calls the pri-|-vate council sore|displeased.

This Dr. Foster would call an iambic, and he would tell us, that the even syllables are long by the coincidence of the acute and the long quantity. Now for "private" substitute "privy," the first syllable of which he admits to be short. Is the verse less regular? Not at all. And why? Surely for no other reason, but because the verse is accentual, and not chronical, and since "prívy" has the same accent as "prívate," it suits the verse as well, though its quantity be different. Dr. Foster in support of his proposition, that the essence of English metre is founded on quantity alone, uses an argument, upon which I am willing to

allow the truth of that proposition to rest, and to abide thereon the decision of any number of well-educated persons.

“ Let a Scotchman take some verses of any of our poets, as these :—

All hūman things are sūbjēct to decay,
And when fate sūmmōns, mōnárchs must obey.

He will pronounce them with the accent transposed thus :—

All hūmán things are sūbjēct to decay,
And when fate sūmmōns, mōnárchs must obey.

Now though he alters the tones, and transfers the acute from the beginning to the end of words, yet in this pronunciation the metre still essentially subsists, because founded in quantity, which is not violated by him. Did the metre depend on accent, it would be necessarily disturbed and destroyed by his transposition of that accent.” (p. 36.)

Now I agree to this test : but I say, that the metre is disturbed and destroyed by such a pronunciation of hūmán, sūbjēct, sūmmōns and monárch, as he, whether justly or not, has attributed to the Scotch ; and I should be much surprised to find any Englishman, or any Scotchman well versed in English poetry, whose ear would not agree with mine in this particular. And in truth, the more we consider the subject, the more disposed shall we be to assent to Mr. Mitford’s proposition, that “ accent is the fundamental efficient of English versification.” (p. 91.)

Perhaps this erroneous account of the quantity in the English language, coming as it does in the early part of the work, immediately after the chapter explaining the difference between accent and quantity, and before he touches on the accents of the Romans and Greeks, may have been one cause why Dr. Foster's admirable essay has had so little practical effect. If it be necessary to the apprehension of an argument, that two ideas should be carefully and constantly distinguished from each other, it is indeed important that we should begin by a clear definition of the terms by which each is to be represented: but this is not enough: we must also continue to preserve through the course of the argument the distinction with which we set out; and nothing can more effectually bring us back to error than the use of familiar illustrations, which assume the identity of the very two things which we have been labouring to distinguish.

Dr. Foster's theory, that the acute accent and long quantity coincide in the English, afford his opponents a good ground to infer that they coincide in the Greek too. Dr. Gally, after stating the question at issue between himself and Dr. Foster, says:—"Now upon this state of the debate, which is the only true one, it is very obvious to observe, that by the acute accent we mean that accent which we moderns use in pronouncing our own language, and which doth in all cases sound the syllable over which it is placed long, and that

Mr. Foster means an accent which is not in use with us. In relation, therefore, to the accent which we mean, and which we all use, I really cannot see that there is any difference between us and Mr. Foster, if he abides by the principles which he hath laid down, and the concessions which he hath made. For he alloweth, that the accent which we use does make all syllables sound long to the ear, and that if the voice is retarded in some syllables, by what cause soever that delay be occasioned, there is truly and formally long quantity. But this is the very thing we contend for ; and from which we strongly conclude, that therefore the Greek language ought not to be pronounced according to accents, meaning our acute accent." (*Second Dissertation against Greek Accents*, p. 79.) We here see what an advantage Foster's theory as to English quantity gives to his opponent in destroying the force of his argument. The best part perhaps of Foster's essay is that, in which he illustrates the different nature of accent and quantity, by reference to the principles of music, and the properties of the human voice, which in all nations are the same. But all this passes for mere theory, when we find that in our own language no such distinction is to be found, but that the acute accent and long time practically coincide ; and, if in our own, then in most, if not all, of the other languages of Europe, in Italian, for instance, and German, and even in

modern Greek too, whose poetry is modulated exactly on the same principles as ours.

I shall not extend this digression further, but shall content myself with remarking, that, whether the poetry of modern language be founded simply in accent, as I think any one with an unprejudiced ear must allow it is, or whether it be founded on quantity coinciding with accent; in either case it is so entirely unlike the metrical rhythm of the ancient Greeks, as to make it unsafe to assume that any proposition is true of the one because it is true of the others.

CONCLUSION.

4. I would not wish, in thus calling the attention of scholars to the language of modern Greece, to be considered as passing an encomium on its purity. Such praise would be scarcely less unphilosophical than the sweeping charge of barbarism, which fastidious critics have fastened upon every term which they do not find in the index of their school-books. My aim is, to point out how wide and interesting a field is still open to a judicious scholar, who shall choose, after a patient study of the ancient authors, to visit their descendants, and sift and separate the barbarisms and corruptions, which have adhered externally to the language, from the inherent beauties which it has never lost. I am persuaded that its language, like its architecture, still retains in its ruins enough at once to instruct and to humble us. Such an in-

quity, too, if conducted with true candour, would perhaps not be altogether useless nor unacceptable to the Greeks themselves. From indiscriminate censure, from arrogant ridicule of their mode of writing and speaking, they naturally turn away with disgust. But I think they would be found to be willing listeners to the well-considered and temperate criticism even of a foreigner, who has studied their language with attention. Neither do I consider the language as so irrevocably debased by vulgarism, but that a great part of its essential beauties may be restored, when security of property shall have produced industry, and industry wealth, and wealth leisure. Their language is essentially the same as it was in the time of purity, and they have the models of the time of purity to refer to. The possibility of such a restoration is so far from being chimerical, that it may rather be said to have already begun. There is less difference in language between Plutarch and Coray than between Chaucer and Pope. And though the metrical rhythm of the ancients be now no more, Greece is the only country in which I should not despair of its revival. A Greek will begin his inquiry into the subject of quantity without any prejudices respecting accent, or rather his prejudices will be all on the right side. Then the acute perception, the discriminating ear, the lively feeling which brought forth the Greek rhythm, still live in the race ; and these, when

polished by civilization, and informed by study, may yet revive that exquisite combination of music and poetry which has slept through centuries of barbarism.

It is cheering to observe in the best-informed of the Greeks themselves a sanguine anticipation of a renewal of the glories of their language and literature. Economus (p. 192) compares the present state of the language to that of Ulysses in disguise :—

Κακὰ χροὶ εἴματ' ἔχοντα,

“ Ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, ὃ πατροπαρόδοτος προφορικὸς λόγος τῶν Ελλήνων, εἰς τὴν Ελλάδα ζῇ, καὶ λαλεῖ, καὶ βαδίζει, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ ἀναρβώννυται. Ἡ ἀργὰ ἢ γρήγορα θέλει, τέλος, τὸν ἐνισχύσει ἢ πάνσοφος Πρόνοια μὲ τὴν πάγχρυσον ῥάβδον τῆς ἀγαθότητός της, καὶ θέλει πάλιν τὸν μεταμορφώσει, ὡς ἡ Ἀθηναῖα τὸν Οδυσσεά, εἰς ἄνδρα νεόν καὶ καλόν, καὶ ἰσχυρόν, καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἐνδύσει τὴν καθαρὰν τῆς ἀρχαίας του δόξης στολήν, ‘δέμας δ' ὀφελεῖ καὶ ἡβην.’ ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ερασμίται, τὰ τέκνα τῆς παλαιᾶς τῶν Ελλήνων σοφίας, βλέποντες τελείαν τὴν ἤδη προχωροῦσαν μεταβολὴν του, νὰ ἐκφωνήσωσι μετὰ θάμβους καὶ χαρᾶς, ὡς ὁ Τηλέμαχος περὶ τοῦ Οδυσσεώς, τὸ

Ἀλλυῖός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ ἐπάροιθεν.

ταῦτα σὺν Θεῷ ἐλπίζουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐλπίζουσι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ φιλέλληνες.”

THE END.

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